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ABSTRACT

Five of the six papers in this monograph describe case studies of four schools in the initial year of implementing differentiated staffing. These studies attempted to identify issues and generate hypotheses regarding the process of innovation implementation that would be worthy of more precise subsequent investigation. Researchers ended the project with a wealth of ideas concerning the barriers to the implementation of staff reorganization but few clues as to the facilitators. Thus, a second project was launched to investigate schools already operating under a nontraditional mode of instructional staff organization where change facilitators and fruitful strategies for surmounting implementation barriers might be more observable. An early report on this second project, carried out in selected Wisconsin multiunit schools, is contained in the sixth paper of this monograph. A bibliography is included. (Author/WM)

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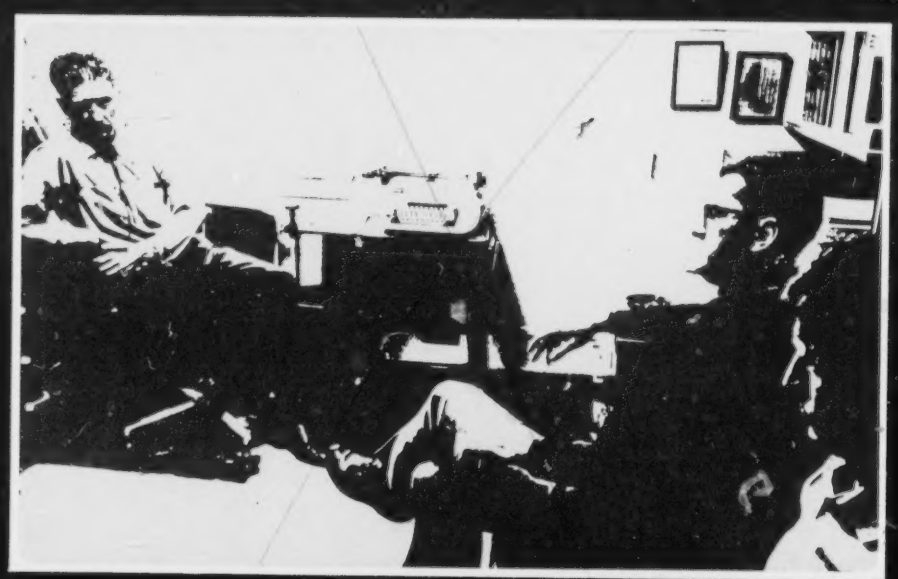
The Process of Planned Change in the School's Instructional Organization



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CENTER FOR THE ADVANCED STUDY
OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

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Preface

This publication is an outgrowth of an experimental session of the American Educational Research Association entitled "Contrasts in the Process of Planned Change in the Instructional Organization of the School," which was held during the Association's annual meetings in New Orleans in February 1973. The five substantive papers to be summarized during the session were bound in a volume for distribution to pre-registrants of the session and to Professor Louis M. Smith of Washington University, who served as the session's discussant.

In light of the interest evoked by the preliminary volume and the program, the papers have now been slightly revised and a new paper added for publication as a monograph. The new paper, by Larry J. Reynolds, covers one of the case studies not heretofore reported. Dr. John S. Packard, a program director in the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, was the organizer of the AERA session and coordinator of the preliminary volume. With the aid of Carol Morse, CASEA's editor, he has been principally responsible for bringing the monograph to its present form.

The publication constitutes one of several reports of a program of research initiated in 1970 by Program 20 of CASEA. The papers focus on two sequentially-related projects concerning the implementation phase of educational innovation. The first project was a set of observational case studies of schools in their first year of effort to imple-

ment differentiated staffing plans. The principal investigators for this project were Roland J. Pellegrin and W. W. Charters Jr., with the collaboration of Robert B. Everhart, John E. Jones, Larry J. Reynolds, Keith F. Smith, and C. Thompson Wacaster.

The second project, for which Richard O. Carlson served as principal investigator, consisted of briefer but more pointed case studies of elementary schools that reputedly had succeeded in implementing the Multiunit school model developed by the University of Wisconsin's Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning. Collaborating with Professor Carlson in this work were Harry F. Wolcott, John S. Packard, and Robert B. Everhart. Professor Charters was director of CASEA's Program 20.

W. W. Charters, Jr.

Introduction

Three years ago Program 20 of the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration (CASEA) launched a program of research on patterns of staff deployment in the public school, with particular reference to organization of the instructional staff. Issues of effective staff utilization in education have attracted considerable national interest, and recently various plans for reorganizing instructional programs to make better use of talent have been promoted vigorously by foundations, federal agencies, R & D Centers, and educational planners and critics. The innovations go under such trade names as the Multiunit school, differentiated staffing, team teaching, the open space plan, and so on.

The papers in this compendium summarize some of the findings that so far have emerged from two projects in CASEA's research program, both focusing on problems associated with efforts to implement staff reorganization plans at the "grass-roots" level of school and

school district. The voluminous data generated by the studies are still being analyzed by the research staff, especially those from the second project (the field work for which was completed only last June). Most of the papers are based on more fully documented reports that are, or will be, available elsewhere; we will give relevant citations later.

This introduction describes the background of the research program in which the projects were set and the general issues to which they were addressed. Also, it describes the methodological approach that characterized the studies, comments briefly on the sites involved, and locates the six papers in the compendium with respect to the two projects.

Background of the Research Program

The underlying purpose of CASEA's Program 20, as specified at the time of the program's inception in 1969, is to generate and assemble dependable knowledge of practical utility in the operation and management of schools and school districts. This pragmatic orientation (albeit, conceived more as a long-run goal than an immediate objective) is a natural outgrowth of the program's engagement in the R & D sector of education and its location, in particular, in an R & D Center uniquely concerned with issues of school organization and administration. The pragmatic orientation in no way has led the program staff to eschew theoretical formulations or theoretical issues; indeed, the staff has been governed by the dictum, sometimes attributed to Kurt Lewin, that "there is nothing more practical than a good theory." Nevertheless, concern for the practical has a distinct bearing on the choice of problems for investigation and the nature of the questions for which answers are sought.

Thus, in the present studies of Program 20, the researchers directed their energies to the task of identifying the prominent factors that served to hinder or facilitate the implementation of innovations in schools—factors of which policy makers in schools should be aware before embarking on major change projects. They were alert to managerial strategies which could be used to minimize, if not circumvent,

the manifold problems of organizational change. The researchers were guided by a variety of theoretical conceptions, such as a *process* view of change, holding that early events shape and constrain the course of succeeding events; a *systemic* view of organizations, meaning that alterations in functions of one component have discernable (and often surprising) effects on other components; a *behavioral* view of educational programs, arguing that structural changes in schools are insufficient for defining innovation if they are not accompanied by appropriate changes in role behavior and interpersonal relationships; and a number of more substantive conceptualizations as well. The theoretical conceptions were seen simultaneously as the means for reaching pragmatic ends and as the grounds for giving the studies general significance.

Why *staff reorganization* as the innovation for concentrated study? For one thing, as the Program 20 investigators viewed it, the vigorous promotion of new staff utilization plans at the national level has occurred largely in the absence of systematic research. Little definitive information is available either with regard to their intended and unintended consequences or with regard to the strategies of implementation. As promising as the plans might appear on paper, it seemed to the Program 20 staff that a prime responsibility of educational R & D is to replace idealization and supposition about their value with dependable knowledge generated through objective study.

In addition, CASEA researchers already had a "leg up" on the study of instructional organization. In an investigation just drawing to a close in 1970, Pellegrin and others at CASEA had compared elementary schools operating in accordance with the Multiunit school model of staff organization, developed by the Wisconsin R & D Center, with traditional schools on a variety of organizational and social-psychological attributes. Results of this study gave strong empirical basis to the belief that staff reorganization, once achieved in schools, does indeed hold important implications for administration and administrative processes (Pellegrin, 1969a, 1969b). At the same time, another of CASEA's programs, Program 30 on Strategies of Organizational Change, had initiated a project to test the applicability of organizational development training in a number of elementary schools wishing to move to differentiated staffing. Thus, the opportunity was at hand

to capitalize on the background of methodological and conceptual developments in CASEA and to form a "critical mass" of R & D work on the issue of staff reorganization.

The Program 20 staff was attracted to staff reorganization plans for theoretical reasons, as well. Common to this class of innovation is the idea of converting the *technical system* of the school, to use Parsons' (1960) term, from one in which the school's central tasks are performed by largely independent, isolated teachers to a system in which the tasks are carried out by small, closely interdependent work groups. Organization theory, small group theory, and general sociological theory all suggest that should such a conversion become a widely-accepted reality, it would profoundly alter the character of the teaching occupation and of the American public school. One of the characteristics that marks the American educational institution, its "structural looseness" (Bidwell, 1965), would no longer prevail. Many of the theoretical implications of team teaching, the label that best captures the key idea, were developed some years ago in a remarkable book by Shaplin and Olds (1965), and in an especially noteworthy chapter by Lortie (1965) within it, but few of their analyses have been exploited in systematic study.

Why concentrate on the *implementation* phase of innovation? At the time Program 20 launched its studies, detailed through-time investigations of school staffs in the throes of planned change were scarce. Miles (1964) had assembled some in his book on the *Adoption of Educational Innovations* and an early version of Smith and Keith's (1971) Kensington study had become available; the major study by Gross and his colleagues was still unpublished (Gross, Giacquinta, and Bernstein, 1971). The bulk of the earlier research on educational innovations was not especially informative regarding the implementation process. These studies typically consisted of correlations of school adoption rates with gross attributes of districts, communities, administrators, and teachers—attributes which from the standpoint of an administrator in a particular school system cannot readily be manipulated or controlled and thus do not inform local strategy alternatives.

The CASEA staff believed that many potentially profitable innovations were foundering during their trials in schools not because of the

lack of intrinsic merit but because of installation difficulties. In Miles' (1964) phrase, the issue was often one of *adoptive failure* rather than substantive failure. In the degree this is true, it is impossible even to put the intrinsic worth of an innovation to the test in a field setting. Generally speaking, educators seriously underestimate the enormity of the task of effecting fundamental change in schools, and funding agencies seem to reinforce, indeed, compound the error by imposing time deadlines, evaluation schedules, and budget restrictions which imply that complex organizations can be transformed virtually overnight. Together, the educational planners sometimes act as though all that were required to implement major innovations are serious intentions and a few summer workshops. Such views clearly need modification.

These are the reasons, then, that prompted the CASEA staff to investigate innovations concerning reorganization of the school's instructional staff and to concentrate attention particularly on the implementation phase of the innovative process.

The DS Case Studies

The first and more ambitious of the two CASEA projects described in the following chapters consisted of intensive case studies of four schools in the initial year of implementing differentiated staffing (DS). Three of the schools were in the same system, the Overland District, which encompassed a small but rapidly growing satellite city near a large metropolitan center. Overland's enrollment was about 18,000 students. The district had received federal funds for encouraging the development of differentiated staffing, and of the numerous schools in the district, three were implicated in the DS project—Columbia High School, Harmony Intermediate, and Efstutt Elementary. The fourth school chosen for study, Stormy Heights Elementary, was in a different district. Also located in a small city and in its first year of implementation Stormy Heights was funded under a federal program directed primarily toward changes in the arts curriculum but, in Stormy Heights' case, with DS as a key part of the innovative goal. All of the schools served essentially middle-class neighborhoods.

One member of the research staff was responsible for studying each school, using the open-ended techniques commonly associated with anthropological field studies. After making himself and his research mission known to the school staff, the observer attended faculty meetings and special events, listened to conversations in the hallways and teachers' lounges, collected documents, watched classes in session, and talked informally to teachers, administrators, custodians, or other perceptive informants. Observations were especially intensive during the first four months after implementation began, entailing at least three full days (and evenings) a week in the building, and then declined in frequency around mid-year. The researcher's focus was on the adult world of the school; students and the teaching-learning process figured in the observations only as they were reflected in the concerns of the staff.

In addition, three members of the research team, led by Roland Pellegrin, collected information at the school-district level in Overland about the inception of the DS project, its early activities and organization, and its general management. This investigation, involving documentary analysis and extensive interviewing both within and without the district, came to be a small case study in its own right.

The DS case studies were strictly formulative in design. Their intent was to identify issues and generate hypotheses regarding the implementation process that would be worthy of more precise investigation in subsequent research. No effort was made to select case-study sites for particular comparative purposes, nor were observers asked to assemble strictly comparable empirical data.* Indeed, the greater task in site selection was to reduce, not magnify, variability across cases. The principal criteria applied in school selection were (1) the presence of a relatively clear model of DS and a firm commitment to implement it, (2) September 1970 as the target date for beginning implementation,

* Another project in Program 20, however, was conducted simultaneously with the DS case studies to develop empirical measures of the school's technical system—measures that would be sensitive to changes in organization of the instructional staff. Three of the four case-study schools were used as field-test sites for the instruments. This project was directed by Charters with the collaboration of Roland J. Pellegrin and William Horstman. For a technical report of the measures and data from Efstutt Elementary School, see Charters (1973).

(3) school size not so large as to prohibit observational study by one investigator, (4) coverage of three levels of public schools, and (5) an assortment of considerations relating to location, ease of entry, and the like. The first criterion regarding clarity of the DS model, while serving to eliminate schools with vague intentions "to do something along the DS line next year," nevertheless turned out to be problematic, as detailed elsewhere in the compendium.

The data-net was cast wide in this project. Its formulative purpose placed a premium on the ability of the observers to sense and conceptualize the essential features of implementation in their schools, and they were encouraged to pursue the problems that compelled their attention without respect for consistency with the other cases. Diversity in perspectives, however, was tempered by an important aspect of the project, the continuing weekly seminar of the entire Program 20 staff. Beginning well before the field work started, this working seminar explored and developed sensitizing concepts that could be carried into the schools; it continued throughout the period of active field work and served as a medium of exchange among members of the research staff.

Several more-or-less separate projects were spawned by the DS case studies. We have already alluded to Pellegrin's companion study of the Overland DS project from the "central office" perspective. Another that is germaine to the present compendium of papers was the study carried out by Everhart of the paraprofessional's career. The use of subprofessional aides in the classroom is a central component of DS—some would say the *defining* component—and Everhart mounted an investigation, using systematic interviews and observational data, that cut across all four case-study schools. A third investigation, a mirco-study of a single teaching team at an altogether different site, currently is being completed by Keith Smith (forthcoming).

The Multiunit Case Studies

The principal project growing out of the DS studies, however, was carried out in 1972 on implementation problems in elementary schools that had converted to the Wisconsin R & D Center's Multiunit (MU)

organizational model. It too consisted of four case studies, but in this instance the selection of sites was more systematic and the field work briefer and more pointed than in the previous project. To explain how the new project arose, we must report on how the DS studies ended.

After watching eight months of strenuous effort by faculties to install DS programs, it became clear to the Program 20 investigators that progress in the four case-study-schools had been far from spectacular. Structural changes had been instituted readily enough, such as employing personnel for new positions, designating teaching teams, appointing team leaders, adjusting pay scales, and so on, but the task of translating formal arrangements into appropriate behaviors proved to be a formidable one for the faculties. The structural alterations themselves created inescapable, new problems of adjustment (for example, learning to work smoothly with a classroom aide), while project activities (workshops, visitors, innumerable meetings) consumed vast amounts of staff time and energy in competition with teachers' central instructional responsibilities. Little time remained for reasoned consideration of the tactics or strategies of change, and by the end of the school year faculties were still seeking the operational meaning of that which they were implementing. As it turned out, two of the schools formally disaffiliated with DS projects at year's end and a third had all but abandoned DS as a goal of its innovative activities.

Program 20 researchers ended the project with a wealth of ideas concerning the barriers to implementation of staff reorganization but few clues as to facilitators. This was a decidedly one-sided view. Thus, a second project was launched to investigate schools already operating under a non-traditional mode of instructional staff organization and hence, that patently had succeeded in surmounting implementation barriers. In such schools, facilitators and fruitful strategies should be more accessible to observation.

The Multiunit schools of Wisconsin were chosen for this investigation. The project, led by Richard Carlson, would identify four exemplary MU schools and attempt, by means of focused but unstructured interviews, to reconstruct their implementation histories. Well aware of the pitfalls of retrospective accounts, the researchers nevertheless hoped to add the missing dimension of the DS studies.

Identification of exemplar schools proceeded in two steps. The researchers first queried a panel of authorities familiar with Wisconsin schools (and aware of the research purposes) as to which had most fully adopted the MU design. The panel reached consensus on ten. Then the panel's judgments were subjected to observational verification: CASEA investigators visited the ten schools and conducted interviews with teachers, administrators, and team leaders, using a structured, scoreable schedule that tapped the generic elements of unitized instructional operations and that focused on behavioral as well as structural manifestations. The second screening led to the selection of four top-rated schools—Multiunit reputation, structure, and behavior.

Upon gaining entry approval, a researcher lived in each school for one week to observe and interview the staff and other personnel. The central purpose of these interviews was to discover the problems that had been encountered during the implementation phase and the modes by which they had been resolved, if indeed they were. Again, the studies were conducted in an exploratory vein, and the observations and interviews at this point were accordingly unstructured. Each investigator fashioned his search for problems and resolutions according to the leads he obtained at his site. Absent was an attempt to force comparability in the findings using *a priori* problem categories. At midweek the researchers assembled to compare notes and exchange thoughts about helpful probing techniques; following this brief conference each returned to his site to finish out the week. Subsequently, separate working papers were prepared by the investigators;* a summary report currently is being drafted by Carlson.

The Six Papers

Five of the six papers that follow in this monograph concern the first research project, the DS case studies, while the sixth provides an early report on the second project, the Multiunit case studies.

In the lead-off chapter ("Administrative Assumptions Underlying Major Innovation"), Pellegrin describes the evolution of the DS Project

* One of the working papers is scheduled for separate publication (Wolcott, 1973).

in the Overland School District, taking a district-level view of events. In doing so, he furnishes context for the two papers that follow. The main burden of his chapter, however, is an analysis of the tacit and sometimes explicit assumptions about organizations, people, and change that guided the attempts by project administrators to innovate. Pellegrin's analysis substantially extends a more cursory discussion of the chronic problems of innovation in the DS schools than has been published elsewhere (Charters and Pellegrin, 1972).

The following two chapters, then, discuss the implementation process as viewed at the "grass-roots" level in two of Overland's project schools. (It so happens that these were the two schools that formally abandoned innovation efforts at the end of the first year of implementation.) Wacaster's report on the high school ("The Life and Death of Differentiated Staffing at Columbia High School") seeks to trace the principal factors accounting for the faculty's explicit vote to discontinue project participation, and Jones, in his report on the elementary school in Overland ("An Elementary School under Conditions of Planned Change"), similarly portrays the problems that led to adoptive failure. Both chapters are based on the authors' dissertations (Wacaster, forthcoming; Jones, 1973).

Reynolds' chapter ("Teacher Adaptation to Planned Change"), also based on his dissertation (Reynolds, 1973), tells the implementation story in a different context. Stormy Heights Elementary was located in a different school district (Firville), its innovation project was funded under a different federal program, and the proposed innovation was more than a reorganization of the instructional staff. Differentiated staffing was regarded at Stormy Heights as a key means of achieving an alteration in the school's curricular program—in particular, establishing an "arts-centered curriculum"—as well as an end in its own right. The Stormy Heights story, as developed by Reynolds, is one of the successive preclusion of alternatives, of early decisions that produced adaptive responses on the part of the staff that affected subsequent decisions, and so on, a situation that continued until the staff found itself caught in a vicious circle from which it did not escape during the year of observation. As a result, certain goals of implementation were reached but others were foreclosed.

The fifth chapter by Everhart ("Role Processes in Teaching Teams") characterizes the adjustment problems that confronted teachers and paraprofessionals as they worked out their role relationships during the year of DS implementation and gives particular attention to the different demands on the job made by three broad types of paraprofessional. Everhart's paper is one section of a larger study of the paraprofessional's career (Everhart, 1972).

Finally, Packard's chapter ("Changing to a Multiunit School") brings together the studies of four elementary schools in Wisconsin that succeeded in altering their forms of staff organization. Based on the working papers from the case studies, it is one investigator's view of the main problems that arose in the schools during implementation and the manner in which school personnel sought to overcome them.

Roland J. Pellegrin

Administrative Assumptions Underlying Major Innovation

A Case Study in the Introduction of Differentiated Staffing

In a companion paper on barriers to the innovation process (Charters and Pellegrin, 1973), the characteristic course of events in planning and implementing differentiated staffing programs was described and analyzed. That report directed attention primarily to the basic, chronic problems that teachers and administrators encounter in trying to install planned changes at the level of the school. This chapter, in contrast, focuses on managerial assumptions in the administration of major innovation and the consequences of these assumptions for ensuing developments.

In this instance data are drawn from a school district we shall call "Overland," where differentiated staffing programs were planned and introduced at the elementary, junior high and high school levels. Our primary objective is to identify and discuss the administrative or managerial assumptions underlying this attempt at major innovation and the issues and problems to which these assumptions were connected.

Before turning to these matters, however, we shall present an overview of events and decisions in the district that led to the development of the project. This portrayal of the context of the innovation should make our analysis more comprehensible. It also provides background information of value in understanding the general setting of the innovations in individual schools analyzed by Wacaster and Jones in the immediately following papers of this volume.

The information presented below was obtained through interviews with administrative personnel who served on district committees charged with setting policies for differentiated staffing programs, representatives of the local education association, and outside consultants and former employees who played important roles in one phase or another of the project. Intensive case studies of each school provided important materials on relationships between the schools and the central office and other agencies. We also had available the documents prepared in the district about differentiated staffing, including proposals and reports to the funding agency, memoranda circulated within the district, correspondence, evaluation reports by site visitors and observers from other schools and agencies, and various published articles and brochures describing the project.*

The Evolution of the Differentiated Staffing Programs

The Overland School District is noted for the sophistication of its administrative leadership and the high caliber of its teaching personnel. Through the years its educational programs have received considerable approbation from educators at state and wider levels. The orientation of administrators is favorable to educational improvement and experimentation. Despite the constant upgrading of programs, a number of key personnel found themselves in agreement concerning the severity of certain problems faced by the district in 1967.

The precipitating event that led to systematic discussion of mutual concerns was the decision to construct a new high school in Overland.

* We gratefully acknowledge the unusually free access to information accorded us by the project director and other persons in Overland.

The principal who was appointed to plan the new facility and program was housed temporarily in the district office building. There he began conversations with certain other persons who were sympathetic to his visions of a thoroughly innovative program for the high school. In particular, he exchanged ideas with the district science coordinator, the director of curriculum, and the assistant superintendent of personnel. These four persons were appointed to a committee to plan the new high school. They agreed that they wanted to develop a school that would emphasize opportunities for student learning, and that the physical facilities should maximize flexibility in instruction as well as the use of technological devices. They also recognized that the prevailing system of teacher rewards was based solely on education and experience, and believed that excellence in job performance was frustrated by that fact and by the lack of a career ladder. They, accordingly, hoped to develop a system for "keeping good teachers in the classroom" by providing them "adequate rewards." At the same time, they were interested in making extensive use of non-certified personnel, including paraprofessionals as well as resource persons from the community. Their concerns reflected many of the ideas associated with "differentiated staffing," a term that was just then gaining currency in professional publications.

During the spring of 1968 an official of the State Department of Education suggested that they might find material resources to implement their ideas by applying for an Education Professions Development Act grant in differentiated staffing, using the new high school as a pilot setting. A decision to seek a planning grant was made and school board approval was obtained.

During this same period members of the committee were playing basic roles in selecting the staff for the new high school. Because they were planning a program they regarded as novel and experimental, they gave considerable emphasis to employing persons one of them later called "renegades and innovators." Put in more conventional terms, they wanted to hire able persons who were capable of initiating new ideas or practices and were favorably inclined toward unconventional approaches to instruction. Those who interviewed applicants for positions in the school tried to give each person who applied a conception

of the goals of differentiated staffing as they saw them at that time. This description, while general and somewhat vague, described the concept largely in terms of innovativeness, the use of non-certificated staff, and the development of a new and "adequate" reward system for excellence in teaching.

It is to be noted that the key ideas and plans underlying the eventual emergence of the differentiated staffing program germinated in the minds of a few key individuals on the high school planning committee and other persons, mainly in the central office and other agencies, with whom they consulted. This point is important because a distinguishing feature of the differentiated staffing plan that finally developed was its emphasis on the making of basic decisions by the teachers in the schools.*

In the late spring of 1968, the principal of the high school and the district science coordinator devoted a week to the preparation of a proposal for submission to U.S.O.E. Their ideas, supplemented by those of the other committee members, provided the basis for this document.

The front page of the proposal stated that the purpose of the project was "to plan and implement a totally new kind of staff organization and a concomitant training program." The proposal, very broad and ambitious in scope, indicated that during 1968-69 personnel in the pilot school and a variety of participating agencies would: (1) define the teaching skills required for individualized instruction; (2) design and test a differentiated staffing model based upon the defined skills; and (3) develop training programs to prepare personnel for differentiated staff assignments. In order to train and utilize educational personnel for purposes of individualized instruction, the proposal specified needs for developing and coordinating task specializations, training personnel of various types (including non-educators with a wide range of occupational skills), inventing career ladders, identifying behavioral objectives for students from the various social and economic levels, devising programs for disadvantaged students, conducting pre-service

* The point is important for another reason. The Overland program represents an exception to the generalization that educational innovation is instigated by forces external to the school system. While outside agencies played important supporting roles, our investigation indicates that the initiative for innovation came from key insiders.

programs for teacher trainees, providing managerial leadership for resource allocation, and developing criteria and procedures for evaluation. Listings of needs and objectives reveal the project was conceived as a vehicle for solving a wide range of educational problems.

The proposal clearly saw the first year of an operating program in the high school as the initial step in preparing for an extension of the proposed activities into the entire school district. Future work was seen as leading to "district-wide implementation of the differentiated staff model as designed in the planning and pilot phases" during the 1972-73 academic year.

An in-service program to "assist in the training and retraining of personnel for differentiated roles" was also promised in the proposal. This program was to deal with "interpersonal relations and theory of organizational structure," group dynamics procedures for directing independent study, diagnostic and remedial techniques, counseling theory and techniques, clinical supervision, and preparation and use of media.

Several months after the proposal had been submitted, word was received that the district had been awarded an interim grant and that substantial support for project planning was forthcoming. In December, a project director for differentiated staffing programs in the district was appointed. The man selected was the former district science coordinator, who had been instrumental in preparing the proposal and had served for several months as curriculum vice principal in the new high school prior to his assumption of the directorship of the project.

Ensuing events in the high school are described in the article by Wacaster. Here we shall but note that a workshop in inter-personal relations was held in the summer of 1968 and that during this training period and the months that followed the teaching and administrative personnel developed a philosophy that emphasized staff autonomy in decision making affecting the school program.

The early months of 1969 saw the project director become increasingly involved in national activities related to differentiated staffing and in discussions and negotiations with representatives of the sponsoring federal agency. While these matters consumed much of his time and effort, he and other central office personnel (1) appointed a District

Differentiated Staffing Committee composed of faculty and administrators from the district and (2) selected, with the approval of this committee, an elementary school and a junior high school for inclusion in the differentiated staffing programs from among the schools that had been invited to apply for participation in the project. At that time it was anticipated that these two schools and the high school would implement differentiated staffing programs in the 1971-72 academic year. In the fall of 1969, however, the project director and other officials decided hurriedly to move up the target date to 1970-71, believing that earlier implementation would encourage federal funding of a second proposal submitted in November 1969.

During 1969 the high school staff was again engaged in a summer workshop and in certain activities preparatory to the development of differentiated staffing. As the year unfolded, tensions increased between the project director and the school's principal and staff.

By 1969 differentiated staffing had become a topic of major interest and discussion in certain educational circles, and the U.S.O.E. was sponsoring various experimental programs in districts around the country. Officials responsible for federal program administration developed their own ideas about what constituted a "good" differentiated staffing project; accordingly, they issued guidelines to which grantees were expected to conform. These stated: (1) no unit smaller than an entire school staff should be differentiated; (2) the maximum salary of the highest paid teacher should be at least double the maximum salary of the lowest category of professional personnel; (3) all instructional staff should spend at least 25 per cent of their time in direct contact with pupils; (4) all instructional staff in the unit designated as operationally differentiated should be on the differentiated salary schedule; (5) the differentiated roles of the instructional staff as well as the selection criteria for those roles should be clearly delineated; and (6) differentiated staffing normally should be accompanied by other organizational and curriculum changes and the development of new, specialized teaching roles. These guidelines, of course, restricted differentiated staffing programs and required policy and procedural changes in the school district concerning pay, titles, and personnel functions. The last two guidelines called for the preparation of job descriptions

and the specification of work specializations and interdependencies in the schools.

The Second Year Proposal submitted by the Overland District in November 1969 described the project to be implemented in 1970-71 in the three schools and projected work over future years until district-wide implementation of differentiated staffing would occur. In general, the ideas and goals of the Initial Proposal were presented and expanded. The general goal of differentiated staffing was identified as creating "a climate in which innovation is not frightening, in which creative capacities are not stifled but are nourished and expressed," and as developing "an atmosphere and environment in which the focus is not upon teaching but on the facilitating of learning." The proposal indicated that emphasis would be "placed on learning and the learner as opposed to teaching and the teacher," and went on to promise the development of a variety of learning alternatives, participation of the student in designing his own learning program, and student participation in policy making and governance.

The proposal also committed the District Differentiated Staffing Committee to the "implementation" of the following eight "steps": (1) making an educational needs assessment to which students, educational personnel, parents, and community members from all walks of life would contribute; (2) defining and listing appropriate behavioral objectives for children in grades 1-12 from a wide range of social and economic levels; (3) defining the skills, competencies, tasks, and vehicles necessary to implement step two; (4) defining the responsibility levels required of personnel to implement step three; (5) writing job descriptions which satisfy the responsibility levels defined in step four; (6) employing or training personnel in cooperation with other agencies to fill positions defined in step five; (7) using the personnel defined and hired (or in training) to staff the high school; and (8) evaluating and redesigning the above as needed. The proposal indicated that steps one and two had been completed, and that work was underway toward the completion of the additional steps in the pilot schools. All but the last of these steps, it should be noted, focused on the period prior to the target date for making the project operational

in the schools. No detailed plans were submitted for the implementation year.

Early in 1970 a major task was the preparation of job descriptions in each of the three schools that would be compatible with the premises and promises of the proposal. The task was accomplished in the high school in January (under conditions characterized by tension and duress, as explained by Wacaster), and some two months later in the other schools. Each of the schools established a hierarchy of positions for administration and instruction, with accompanying salary ranges. Some traditional positions were re-named and given somewhat different responsibilities. New high-level positions were established to direct and coordinate curriculum and instruction and to direct team activities (employing team teaching or collaborative instruction). New specialist positions were established to provide technical services, and different levels were established for experienced and new teachers. Provisions were made for instructional assistance by interns and teacher aides (assistants or paraprofessionals). Additionally, the elementary and junior high schools were to utilize student teachers and high school students in their instructional programs.

During the spring months in-service training was conducted in the elementary school and junior high school, and a major summer workshop was planned for the administrative, instructional, and non-certificated staffs of the three schools and some members of the District Differentiated Staffing Committee. The workshop was designed by an official of the personnel division of the central office who was also chairman of the District Differentiated Staffing Committee. The workshop, held for six weeks, involved over 150 participants and a variety of specialists from outside agencies and the district itself. During four of the six weeks, three hours each day were devoted to discussions by school staffs of some general problems of implementing differentiated staffing, with the remaining four hours (and all day during the other two weeks) given to training exercises and seminars in such areas as interpersonal relations, problem-solving techniques, behavior modification, questioning strategies, utilization of non-certificated staff, individualized instruction, diagnostic instruction, staff and instructional evaluation, flexible scheduling, policy making, and governance.

In the fall of 1970, each school opened its doors to the new era of differentiated staffing. The activities, issues, problems, and eventual program demise during the implementation year in the high school and elementary school are described and analyzed in the papers by Wacaster and Jones. Events in the junior high school took a somewhat different course, and this school retained some elements of its differentiated staffing program beyond the 1970-71 school year. As in the other schools, however, the revolution in the organization and conduct of instruction anticipated in the two funding proposals was not realized. By the end of the year none of the schools had achieved such major accomplishments as individualization of instruction or viable arrangements for team teaching. Occupants of the new positions charged with coordinating curriculum activities and instructional team efforts had been unable to obtain the desired level of coordination. The goals and objectives of the project had seldom been reduced to concrete levels capable of identifying specific role behaviors that would have made differentiated staffing a reality. Decision making and governance remained chronic concerns, to the detriment of both planning and action. New behavior patterns at work were rare and not clearly related to project goals.

Managerial Assumptions Underlying the Project

Let us now examine some basic assumptions made by the administrators of the project, using these assumptions as a framework in terms of which critical issues and problems that have developed can be identified and analyzed. These problem-inducing assumptions, it should be observed, are either invalid (wholly or in part) or questionable. Either way, the assumptions were instrumental in determining the course of events in the project.

By "assumptions" we mean those matters taken for granted by project managers that affected the development of the program through its planning and implementation stages. In some instances, these assumptions were explicitly stated in formal documents or during our interviews of key personnel. More commonly, assumptions were implicit, unstated in a systematic or coherent fashion, but deducible

from an examination of activities that were conducted or policies and procedures that were pursued. No attempt will be made to differentiate assumptions according to explicitness or implicitness, for these distinctions would be tenuous and for our purposes perhaps unimportant. Instead, we shall simply categorize them in terms of the major topical areas into which they fall.

Managerial Control and Coordination

The managerial leadership of the Overland School District made a basic assumption that successful planning and implementation of the differentiated staffing programs did not require substantial changes in the administrative component at the district level. Despite the complexity, variety, and scope of the goals and objectives outlined in the funding proposals, the project was not seen as requiring basic changes in the organization and procedures of the central office. Instead, the development of the project was entrusted largely to the staffs of the individual schools. While the plans for differentiated staffing created a variety of new or altered positions in the schools, only one modification occurred in the central office—the addition of the position of project director. Only one new agency, the District Differentiated Staffing Committee, was established. The new position and agency were simply superimposed on the existing structure.

It was therefore taken for granted that whatever administrative or technical assistance the schools needed could be provided by central office staff members who were expected to make limited or temporary contributions, largely on a "role overload" basis—*i.e.*, in addition to their regular duties. It was only after several months had gone by during the year of implementation (1970-71) that the superintendent and some of his key assistants arrived at the conclusion that their failure to provide strong administrative support for the project was a major mistake.

The decision to minimize involvement of the central office implied another critical assumption—namely, that existing lines of authority and jurisdiction were compatible with the requirements of effective project operations. The location of the project in the organizational structure was a result of historical circumstances and the informal rela-

tionships of certain key personnel in the central office. Let us examine this situation and its implications.

It will be recalled that the committee appointed to plan the new high school consisted of its principal, the district science coordinator (later to become the project director), the director of curriculum (later assistant superintendent for personnel), and the assistant superintendent for personnel (who soon assumed the superintendency of the district). From its beginning, the project was under the sponsorship and jurisdiction of the personnel division. Our respondents report that the person who served as assistant superintendent for curriculum until the end of the 1968-69 school year was not interested in differentiated staffing. His replacement, recruited from another section of the country, took a decidedly different point of view. He soon became interested in the implications of differentiated staffing for curriculum and instruction, and rapidly assumed the role of in-house critic of the project.

In the meantime, controversy erupted in the high school as staff members struggled to reconcile their ideas about governance, curriculum development, and instruction with the concept of differentiated staffing as it emerged from the funding proposals, U.S.O.E. requirements, and job descriptions. Of critical importance is the fact that in the chain of command the principals were under the jurisdiction of the assistant superintendent for curriculum and therefore responsible to him for decisions made in their schools. The project director, whose office was in the personnel division, had no line authority or direct control over school operations. His role became one that involved stating project goals and "requirements," offering suggestions, and implying threats of sanctions by the funding agency when goals seemed threatened. He could, in the final analysis, work effectively only through more or less informal procedures—that is, to seek the aid of the assistant superintendent for personnel and/or the superintendent in order to bypass or circumvent the assistant superintendent for curriculum. It takes little imagination to recognize the explosive potentialities in this situation. The assistant superintendent for curriculum, who regarded the project as ill-conceived anyway, felt pressures he regarded as non-legitimate. While his concern for curriculum and instruction in the schools led him to offer assistance to the project on

certain occasions and to provide it upon request at other times, his support of differentiated staffing can be described as equivocal. It is safe to conclude that the supposition that "it didn't matter" where the project was located in the formal organizational structure of the district produced unanticipated problems and controversies.

Our point is not of course that the project should inevitably have been installed in the curriculum division. A project in differentiated staffing entails personnel as well as curriculum considerations. The critical lesson is that matters bearing on lines of authority present problems that must be solved if successful innovation is to occur. A subsidiary point is that informal personal relationships and arrangements while they can function effectively in a close-knit group of intimates are easily imperiled when key positions change occupants. For this reason, perhaps it can be concluded that informal relationships serve best for short-term expediencies and are less reliable for successful long-term operations.

Because the basic elements of the situation we have described were understood by the principals and some of their faculty members, relations between the schools and the project director were exacerbated. The project director's position was made more difficult by the assumption that school staffs should be the primary decision makers in the project. His lack of authority contributed to his difficulties in insuring that the project's commitments to the funding agency were met—a fundamental obligation of his job, as he saw it.

Central office administrators assumed that the District Differentiated Staffing Committee would provide considerable assistance in managerial control and coordination as well as perform important roles in communication and public relations. This committee was of substantial size, consisting at one time of 23 teachers and administrators representing various organizations and constituencies (including the pilot schools). It was officially given the assignment of *setting policies* for differentiated staffing in the districts. In public statements it was emphasized that the committee had the authority to make basic decisions about the nature and direction of the project. The composition as well as the size of the committee limited its effectiveness, however; its members varied greatly in their understanding of, interest in, and commitment

to differentiated staffing. While our evidence indicates that care was taken to insure that appointees were both capable and willing to serve on the committee, their service was added to their regular duties and many were unable or unwilling to put in the time and effort required to master the complexities of the project or to fulfill the heavy responsibilities entrusted to them. Consequently, their "decisions" typically reflected the recommendations of the project director or other key figures in the project. In other circumstances, their inability to make decisions within prescribed time limits led to their circumvention in the decision-making process. The committee was therefore relatively ineffective as an agency for control and coordination.

It was assumed that the project, although conceived and designed by administrative personnel and central office specialists, would be accepted and implemented by school staffs, even in the absence of strong, top-level managerial controls. We shall discuss how this assumption related to problems of authority and governance in the next section of this paper. At this juncture we wish to point out that monitoring the activities in the schools was seen mainly as a function to be performed by each school staff. Expectations also existed that some monitoring would be conducted through visits to the schools by administrators and external evaluators, and it was anticipated that the project director would "see that the proposals were carried out." As things turned out, however, effective monitoring did not occur by anyone at any level. The lack of provision for such controls proved to be a basic defect in the project.

A fundamental article of faith in the central office was that any problems encountered in the schools during implementation would "work themselves out" in time as school staffs got around to solving them and became more experienced in making decisions about differentiated staffing. This belief involved at least three specific assumptions. First, teachers were believed to have the necessary skills and motivations for solving the problems (a matter to which we shall return later). Second, it was thought that common understandings of the nature, meanings, and objectives of differentiated staffing would develop in each school as planning and implementation staged unfolded. Third, it was assumed that these common understandings and key decisions

would survive and accumulate in each school and would be shared or known by all personnel.

None of these assumptions turned out to be valid. No clear, agreed-upon definition of differentiated staffing was forthcoming from any source. Project participants, other educators, laymen, and visitors had diverse ideas about the nature and objectives of the project. The general goals specified in documents were so many and of such variety that the dimensions of differentiated staffing were lost in a sea of multiple objectives and terminology. Moreover, the project itself was often confused with other projects or events concurrently under discussion in the district. Given these conditions, interested parties—school staffs, school board members, officials of the local educational association, community interest groups of diverse sorts—had quite different conceptions of "what it was all about and what was going on."

In the pilot schools, survival and accumulation of shared knowledge and conceptions were impeded by personnel turnover, with new arrivals often scantly informed about prior decisions and arrangements. Even during the middle of the implementation year, our researchers in the schools reported that some staff members had not read the funding proposals or other basic documents.

More impressive than the accumulation of shared knowledge and understandings was the amount of goal displacement and restructuring of perceptions that occurred during the course of the project. As staff members of the schools continued to encounter obstacles and frustrations during the implementation year, they began to redefine the nature of the project to make it fit what they were actually doing at the moment. This process of retrospective revision of original objectives was documented in some detail by Robert B. Everhart, our researcher in the junior high school. He reported that during the implementation year project goals were gradually shifted further into the future. By December, some staff members were saying that differentiated staffing should properly be seen as a three-step process, and that only the first step (installing the staffing pattern) was to be completed that year. During the following month a staff member attended a meeting in another city and brought back the idea that "differentiated staffing is a concept and not a model." This statement was interpreted by some

people to mean that differentiated staffing called for little that was specific or concrete. A few weeks later the principal confirmed this interpretation when he defined differentiated staffing for his faculty as "each teacher doing what he does best with a given class or given curriculum." Shortly thereafter, the sentiment was widespread in the school that considerable progress had been made toward goal achievement. Everhart reported that an earlier staff feeling akin to cognitive dissonance, growing out of discrepancies between what was envisioned and what existed, "seems to have been resolved by becoming adamant that what is now being done is either what was meant to be done or is the best of all possible alternatives." While this extreme case of retrospective revision was best documented in the junior high school, the same phenomenon appeared to a lesser degree in the other schools.

One other assumption made that relates to control and coordination was that the key to successful innovation lies in the simultaneous planning and implementation of multiple, far-reaching, and diverse goals.* As shown in our account of the evolution of the project, the proposals sought solutions to a large proportion of current educational problems. As an abstract proposition, the thesis that innovation is best attained through concurrent attacks on multiple problems may or may not be valid. In any event, the thesis was not tested in Overland, for few innovations of substance occurred that related to many of the stated goals. Further, the various goals listed in the proposals would logically seem to be achievable through diverse strategies and activities rather than by reliance on a single, vague, and over-arching concept such as "differentiated staffing."

Governance and Decision Making

As we have observed, the locus of decision-making authority for the project was never entirely clear. The spheres of jurisdiction of the project director, district committee, and school staffs were rationalized in abstract terms, but operational decisions did not always fit the model and, in any case, there was little consensus as to where decision-making authority actually resided. As spelled out in the abstract model,

* This strategy is called the "alternative of grandeur" by Smith and Keith (1971, pp. 366-367).

the project director was to coordinate relationships between groups and agencies—pilot schools, the U.S.O.E., the central office, the district committee, and any other interested or involved parties. In practice, he was an active decision maker in that he was a primary author of the proposals and committed the district to the goals stated in them. He made some decisions himself that were supposed to be made by others, often as a result of time pressures. Further, his efforts at project monitoring forced school staffs into decision-making activities they would have preferred to avoid or delay. The district committee was theoretically responsible for setting policies and reviewing decisions made in the schools, but, as we have seen, was often ineffective in these capacities.

The lack of clear jurisdictions led to difficulties with the pilot schools. School staffs, the third component of decision makers in the model, took seriously the often repeated statement that they were the primary decision makers in their own schools. On many occasions, the project director stated publicly that Overland's claim to fame in the world of differentiated staffing was that it had entrusted the power to determine its own structure and operating procedures to each school staff. Why this decision was made or permitted in the central office is reasonably clear. The administrators simply accepted in totality the popular theory in certain educational circles that effective decision making in an organization can best occur when the participants in an activity play the major role in making decisions about it. This theory served as a basic assumption with regard to the mode of governance to be employed in the pilot schools.

This decentralization theory, of course, did not originate in Overland. It has various and fairly deep historical roots in social psychology, management theory, and group dynamics.* Stated as we phrased it above, it sounds eminently reasonable. Putting it into practice, however, is another matter. In its most common operational form, the decentralization theory emphasizes equality of participants in the decision-making process—and "equality" is often defined by participants to mean an absence of status and authority differences in implementing as well as in making decisions.

* A pointed critique of the empirical basis of decentralization theory as it applies to innovation is developed in Gross, Giacquinta, and Bernstein (1971, pp. 24-29).

We have no evidence that the complexities and risks of employing decentralization theory as a foundation stone for differentiated staffing received serious attention in Overland until the project was well underway. Indeed, despite the controversies involving decision making in the high school in 1969-70 (see Wacaster), the right to make their own decisions, subject only to review by the district committee, was granted to all three schools for the implementation year.

It is clear, therefore, that a major assumption of the project was that effective project implementation would be a product of decentralized decision making. The built-in conflicts of jurisdiction in the triangle of competing authorities—schools, district committee, and project director—were glossed over in hopes that things would somehow work out.

Decision making by school staffs was impeded by a variety of developments. For one thing, the chronic pressures of school operations, endemic in all schools, gave priority to dealing with immediate problems and short-term decisions, many of which were at best of marginal relevance to differentiated staffing. Planning time for considering major decisions of lasting import seemed forever inadequate, despite long workdays and workweeks for school staffs. Moreover, the form that self-government was to take remained a chronic issue. Even when rules and procedures for obtaining consensus were finally devised, the problem of enforcement of decisions remained. Authority to govern does not automatically produce procedures for obtaining compliant behavior from dissenters or even from those approving the decisions. In actuality, participants sometimes confuse authority granted to the group with the "right" of autonomous behavior for the individual. This factor is important in accounting for some of the developments in all three pilot settings, but especially in the high school. It was in part responsible for a deterioration in the relationships between the project director and the schools; it led also to preemptive decisions by the project director and, several months into the implementation year, by the principals. In effect, the situation yielded issues about accountability that constituted lasting sore points.

As far as the project director was concerned, objectives and procedures for attaining them as stated in the funding proposals were contractual in nature and the obligations assumed under contract with the funding

agency were legal commitments that had to be met. To the school staffs, keeping school going was their major commitment, and they saw the grants in a far different light--*i.e.*, as an opportunity to develop their own interests and ideas for improving school programs.

Interestingly, it was assumed by the project director (and perhaps others in the central office) that expenditures in self-government in the schools would inevitably lead to a hierarchy of positions and accompanying levels and spheres of authority. Instead, developments took the course we have described.

Work Behavior, Specialization, and Interdependence

A critical component of differentiated staffing plans is the creation of a new division of labor in the schools. Work behavior and relationships among staff members are expected to change as a result of increased task specialization by individuals and greater interdependencies among specialists. The coordination of task performance necessary for carrying on effective operations is much greater than in the conventional school.

It was assumed in Overland that each school staff could devise a new system of work behavior. This would have required that the tasks necessary to make the system a functioning reality be identified and analyzed; that the various tasks be assigned to specialized positions which would be coordinated with one another; that positions could be organized according to the complexity and types of skills and levels of responsibility they required; and that equitable criteria could be agreed upon for establishing hierarchies of authority and scales of remuneration. Furthermore, this new division of labor would have to be designed so that it would mesh with instructional objectives and available curriculum materials.

The pilot schools did not get very far into this complex maze of required inventions. They devised new positions (*i.e.*, job titles) and assigned general functions to them, formally designated different kinds of "teams" and assigned "leaders" to them, and created hierarchies of authority and pay differentials. In the main, these accomplishments consisted of making structural alterations which did not produce major changes in work behavior.

Our summary of the contents of the Second Year Proposal contains

a series of proposed steps through which a new system of work behavior was to have been devised. The U.S.O.E. guidelines also suggested criteria for developing a differentiated staffing program. It was clearly intended by those who authored and approved the proposal that an appropriate division of labor would be forthcoming.

The burden for this accomplishment was placed primarily on the staffs of the pilot schools. Obviously, it was believed that, if motivated to do so, teachers and building administrators can devise new patterns of working behavior for themselves that depart drastically from those to which they are accustomed. This assumption rests on very shaky ground. Brickell concluded years ago that "Even when free to guide their own activities, teachers seldom suggest distinctly new types of working patterns for themselves" (1964, p. 503). When new work patterns involve the creation of intricate, novel relationships among a number of teachers and their students simultaneously, few classroom teachers have the time, motivation, technical knowledge, or managerial skills required for successful performance of such tasks. This principle is well documented in recent research (Gross, Giacquinta, and Bernstein, 1971, Ch. 5 and *passim*), and it certainly emerges as a major factor in the Overland experience.

The Normative System

The decision to implement the differentiated staffing plan in Overland necessarily had implications for the occupational beliefs and values of pilot school personnel. Either of two assumptions had to be made: that the norms of educators are compatible with the requirements of differentiated staffing, or that elements of the normative system that did conflict with differentiated staffing could be altered during the course of project training, planning, and implementation. Let us consider these two assumptions in turn.

The differentiated staffing plan contained obvious features toward which teachers have strong aversions—hierarchies of authority and differentiated pay scales based on other factors than education and experience. Teacher norms, particularly in elementary schools, also hold that certain forms of specialization are undesirable. The most important way that differentiated staffing conflicts with the normative

system, however, is that it violates the tenets of what Lortie has called the "autonomy-equality pattern" (1961, p. 3).

This pattern of norms is characterized by value placed on equality of condition and treatment among teachers; more strikingly, however, it is manifested in a desire for individual autonomy and "freedom from interference" in the performance of one's classroom duties (Meyer and Cohen, 1970, p. 7). It is quite true that teachers have little influence in decisions at the levels of the district or the school as a whole (Pellegrin, forthcoming). That fact notwithstanding, teachers exercise far more autonomy in the classroom than is commonly believed, and guarding their prerogatives in the instructional setting is an objective to which they give the highest priority.* In their research, Simpkins and Friesen discovered that the desire of the teacher to control classroom management is so strong that the individual teacher wishes "to protect this jurisdiction in classroom decision making from the authority exercised both by his colleague group and by those in administrative positions" (1969, p. 15). We believe that these basic realities of classroom life provide much insight into the difficulties encountered in Overland in planning and implementing differentiated staffing.

Nonetheless, it is possible that under different conditions some progress might have been made toward normative change in the course of training and implementation. That is, if new operational conditions had been established in the schools that were markedly different from those prevailing in prior years, anticipated normative changes might have occurred. Unfortunately for the success of the project, conditions were not changed to the needed extent. Furthermore, there is evidence that the heavy emphasis on training in interpersonal relationships strengthened and legitimated certain norms that militated against changes in the desired direction.

Staff Development, Training, and Utilization

It was recognized in Overland that staff training was needed in order to further project planning and implementation. Accordingly, summer workshops and in-service training during the school year were

* In Pellegrin (forthcoming), this thesis is developed, and the reasons why teachers are so concerned with maintaining their autonomy are examined at length.

conducted to provide needed knowledge and skills. We have previously outlined the nature of this training.

It was assumed that the kinds of training provided would facilitate transition to new patterns of work behavior. This training turned out to be of limited value to the participants. For one thing, workshop organizers relied heavily on outside experts who often had little knowledge of differentiated staffing and, particularly, the details and specifications of Overland's project. Training sessions thus turned out to consist mainly of "general education" for teachers or exercises in skill development related only indirectly to differentiated staffing. Even during the periods where school staffs discussed the implementation problems they anticipated, the sessions had little relevance to such vital matters as the behavioral changes necessary for the establishment of a successful differentiated staffing system. In short, the "nitty-gritty" details about how school staffs might shift to a new work system received insufficient attention.

It was expected that the day-to-day experiences of dealing with problems at work would yield an accumulation of knowledge useful in problem-solving activities. As we have seen, successes of this sort were limited.

One other assumption had important implications for long-term developments. It was believed, especially when the high school was staffed, that employing "mavericks and renegades" who manifested enthusiasm for experimentation would maximize chances for success of the project. Because differentiated staffing was explained to employees in all pilot schools in vague and general terms, they could easily develop idiosyncratic conceptions of what was being planned and, in fact, could well have visualized that the schools would provide settings where possibilities for experimentation of all sorts were almost boundless. Some of the most enthusiastic proponents of experimentation and innovation, it turned out, were "anti-establishment types" who found conformity to any system of rules and procedures difficult. The project's success, on the other hand, was dependent on conformity to new work behavior patterns.

We shall call attention to but one other problem of staff development and utilization. It was expected that non-certificated employees and

laymen could make positive contributions to school programs with but modest amounts of training and supervision. As Everhart's paper in this collection demonstrates, identifying appropriate duties for these persons and developing effective relationships with them proved to be time-consuming and often stressful.

Managerial Assumptions and the Planning of Innovation

In this chapter we have developed the thesis that administrative assumptions about organization and innovation have profound consequences for the course of development that unfolds during the various stages of project history. These assumptions may be rationally devised and explicitly stated; but more commonly they are tacit. In either case, in the long run they are problem-inducing in nature.

Project managers in Overland were seriously handicapped by the lack of a managerial technology useful in programs of planned change. At a time the project was planned, the state of knowledge about innovation provided little of practical help to administrators (see Maguire, 1968). As a hopefully important step in ameliorating this situation, our research has tried to uncover the sources and nature of some of the barriers to planned change. Our work and that of many others (for example, Gross, Giacquinta, and Bernstein 1971; Sarason 1971; Smith and Keith, 1971; Blanchard and Cook, 1970; Bushnell, 1971) will, we hope, be construed as attempts to answer Rivlin's fundamental question, "Why Can't We Get Things Done?" (1972).

C. Thompson Wacaster

The Life and Death of Differentiated Staffing At Columbia High School

In Overland District, differentiated staffing (DS) was claimed to be "helping to steer the way to improvement in the education process in view of growing student enrollment, disenchanted students, disillusioned teachers." DS was lauded as "a relatively new idea in American education," which would make "better use of better teachers on a professional career ladder," and provide new sources of "individualized instruction and guidance" and "energy to meet particular needs."*

However, less than a month after these claims were voiced in the Overland District, staff members of the district's differentiated staffing pilot high school voted to discontinue their DS model. An innovation process that included over two years of planning and training prior to eight months of attempted implementation had ended.

* These quotes are taken from a pamphlet published under the auspices of the federally-funded Overland District Differentiated Staffing Projects in late March 1971.

Why did the staff vote to discontinue the DS model? Some answers to this question emerged from clues contained in the story of differentiated staffing at Columbia High School (Wacaster, forthcoming).

Life and Death of an Educational Innovation

Starting up a new high school can be exciting business. It offers an opportunity to begin again, to chart new directions, to right present wrongs. Or so it seemed in September 1967 to the principal-designate and the committee appointed to plan the yet-to-be-built, yet-to-be-staffed Columbia High School. They wanted to "enrich and individualize" student learning. They wanted to reward good teaching, thereby encouraging competent teachers to stay in the classroom and not move into administration or out of the profession. They wanted to design a school plant that would facilitate individualization of learning and make the educational experience an enjoyable one for both students and teachers. They wanted, finally, a staff utilization pattern that not only permitted the flexible use of teacher time and talent—a condition perceived by them as necessary for individualizing instruction—but one that also permitted reward for good teaching.

During the fall of 1967 and winter of 1968, the committee decided that some form of differentiated staffing would be an appropriate staff utilization pattern and that the specific Columbia DS model should be planned by the "high school staff and other district personnel" (Overland District Memo, n. d., p. 6). To secure funds for the formulation of such a model and the training necessary for its implementation, the committee prepared an Education Professions Development Act proposal. It was submitted to the U. S. Office of Education in the late spring of 1968.

Also during the spring of that year the Columbia principal began recruiting faculty members. Since the committee had decided to staff the school with "renegades and innovators," he was seeking persons who had "proven innovative talent in prior positions" and "strong personal motivation and self-assertion" (Overland District Memo, n. d., p. 6). In addition, he tried to give each applicant a picture of the goals of DS although, as he said, there still was no final DS model or even an

established process at this stage for developing one. He was sure, however, that each person hired knew about DS and was "acceptive of its goals" at the time they were hired.

The 35 Columbia staff members met as a group for the first time in August 1968. The principal had arranged for a two-week "training laboratory in interpersonal relations and theory of organizational structure" to be offered by a staff member of Northwest State University (Overland District Memo, n. d., p. 6). At the end of that workshop, staff members prepared a "Philosophy, Policies, and Procedures" document that began with the following statement: "We the Columbia staff agree that there will be an equal sharing of responsibility by the staff, including the departments, department chairmen, and administration, for the decision making and the functioning of the school."

In early September the school opened in temporary quarters with 587 students. No word had been received from the U. S. Office concerning DS project funding and indeed little was done by the staff during the 1968-69 school year to develop a DS model. The staff, however, operated under a consensus decision-making model in that period, deciding issues ranging from assembly attendance policies and the content of a staff in-service program to early dismissal of student government officers for an out-of-school trip.

At the district level some activity relating to the project occurred during the 1968-69 school year. The school district received notification from Washington in December 1968 that Overland's proposal had been approved. A $10,000 planning grant was immediately made available to the district with the remainder of the proposal funding to be forthcoming at an unspecified later date.

Upon receipt of the planning grant, the Columbia curriculum vice-principal, who had been a member of the committee that planned Columbia, was appointed DS project director. Because the project now was envisaged as ultimately being extended to other district schools, his position was attached to the district personnel department with his office located in the district headquarters building.

The rest of the federal funding was received in the spring of 1969. It was used primarily to finance a DS workshop the following summer. This workshop was intended to prepare the Columbia staff to devise

their DS model and to give them time to get on with the actual formulation of the model.

Prior to the workshop, the project director proposed that the following planning procedure be followed by the Columbia staff in developing their DS model:

Step 1: Make an education needs assessment.
Step 2: Define and list appropriate behavioral objectives for students.
Step 3: Define the skills, competencies, tasks and vehicles necessary to implement step 2.
Step 4: Define the responsibility levels required of personnel to implement step 3.
Step 5: Write job descriptions which satisfy the responsibility levels defined in step 4.
Step 6: Employ or train personnel to fill positions defined in step 5.
Step 7: Use the personnel so employed or trained.
Step 8: Evaluate, redesign as needed.

The Columbia staff accepted this planning procedure.

The Northwest State University faculty member returned to open the workshop with a week's training in interpersonal relations. A decision model also was devised for the workshop with all policy issues requiring consensus for passage while procedural matters needed a two-thirds majority. Then a variety of resource people were brought in to provide background for the staff to use in determining objectives for the Columbia program in general and the DS model in particular. The staff decided Columbia should both individualize education and educate "the whole child." The criteria of individualization and wholeness would require a wide range of specialists, given the perceived diversity of student talent and interest. Wholeness would also require, somehow, the integration of the learning experiences offered at Columbia.

The staff decided that the best way to bring about such integrated learning was to have an interdisciplinary curriculum. They subsequently discovered that the educational objectives they had been formulating during this time fell "naturally" into three categories: *Man and the Social World, Man and the Physical World,* and the *World of Work and Leisure*. They then decided to organize their curriculum around these three broad areas.

As a means to generate the interdisciplinary courses to be included in each area, the staff decided to split into three groups called domains. Each domain was to assume the name of one of the three broad curriculum areas and be responsible for curriculum development in that area.

Departments were to continue to exist but only as "service units" to domains. That is, departments were to supply members for domains, with each department charged to see not only that each department member was also a member of a domain, but that the department was adequately represented in all domains. Additionally, departments were to supply teachers and necessary materials for the interdisciplinary courses offered by the domains. Underscoring the notions that departments were to be service units to domains was the decision to phase out gradually the presently existing, departmentally-offered, single discipline courses.

With these general plans having been prepared, the workshop ended with neither DS positions identified nor job descriptions prepared.

The new 4.5 million dollar Columbia building was ready for occupancy in September 1969. There were 982 students and 51 teachers, counselors and administrators. Of these 51, 28 had been on the staff the previous year, and these 28 plus two new staff members had participated in the 1969 DS summer workshop. The staff voted to continue to operate under the previous year's decision-making model. Two other innovations were introduced for the first time that fall. Students were not assigned to home rooms, but met once a week in "Rep Rooms." This hour was to be used as a vehicle for student participation in student government and as a "care group" for students. PREP time was that portion of a student's day not scheduled into classes and was to be used for independent study, conferences with teachers, or recreational activities in the physical education or fine arts area. In short, when not in class, the student was on his own to pursue his individual interests.

During the fall domains met at least 11 times and generated 39 one- and two-page proposals for interdisciplinary courses. Of these, 13 were selected to be opened to student registration in the spring and, if enough students signed up, offered in the fall of 1970, which was the target date for implementation of the first portions of the interdisciplinary curriculum and the DS model.

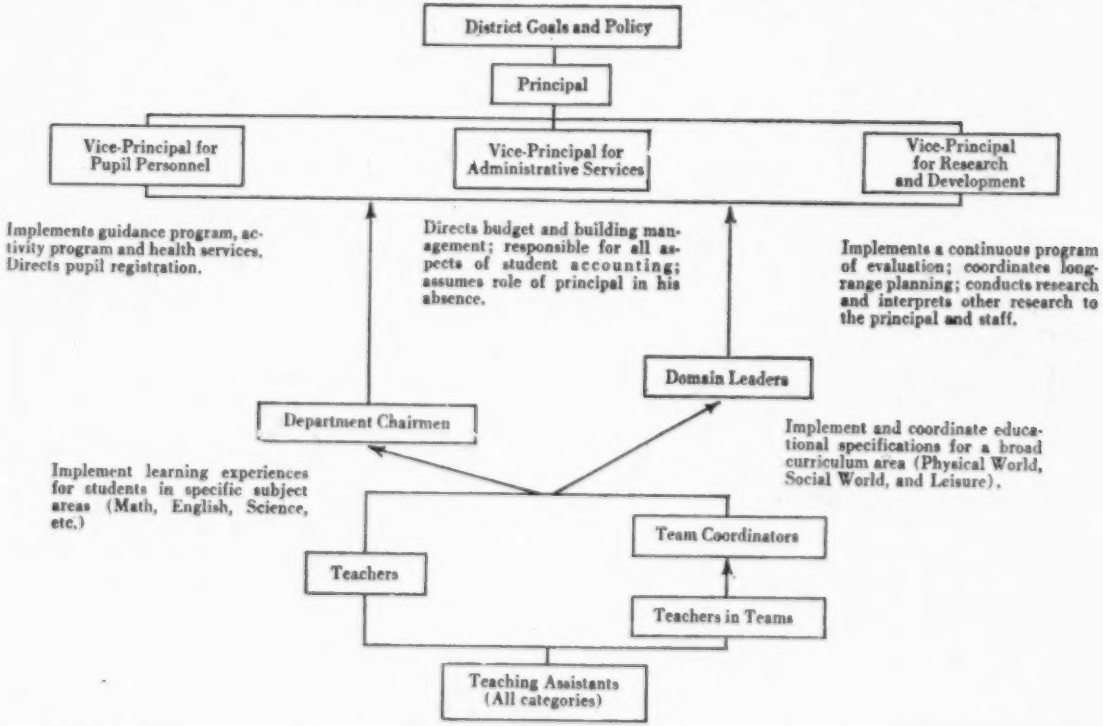
In the late fall the project director became alarmed. He wondered if there were a Columbia DS model. Plans were afoot in the school for domains, departments and interdisciplinary teaching teams, but no DS positions had been identified and, as a consequence, no job descriptions for these positions had been prepared. The project director sent the Columbia staff an ultimatum: Write the DS job descriptions or get out of the DS project! He also conveyed to them the recently received U.S.O.E. criteria for DS models developed in federally-funded training projects. One of these requirements was that the maximum salary of the highest paid certificated position in the model be at least twice that of the lowest paid certificated position.

The staff protested being dictated to by the project director and wasn't pleased with the U.S.O.E. criteria, especially the provision concerning pay. They decided for a variety of reasons, however, to go along with his demand. In a space of two weeks in early January, 1970, the staff and committees thereof held a series of meetings in which they prepared and approved a set of DS job descriptions. In turn, these were forwarded to the project director.

The project director approved the descriptions and sent them along to the district's administrative cabinet: the superintendent and assistant superintendents. The members of the administrative cabinet rejected the job descriptions. They claimed "authority" and "responsibility" had been ignored and demanded that an organizational chart be prepared in which positions were ranked by levels of authority and responsibility.

When the job descriptions were returned to the Columbia staff with the administrative cabinet's specifications, the typical staff reaction was reported to be: "We're not that way! We don't want a hierarchy at all!" Nevertheless, such an organizational chart was approved by the staff, but only after a stormy faculty meeting was resolved by an impassioned plea from the principal, which was reported by others as follows: "We know how we work here. We have a very flat organization. So let's just submit the damn thing . . . not on the basis of this is the way we'll operate but because the central administration wants this chart. So we'll provide one for them." The following chart which was approved by the staff depicts the structure of the DS model that they were to implement during the 1970-71 school year.

Organizational Chart Differentiated Staff Experiment: Columbia High School


District Goals and Policy
Principal
Vice-Principal for Pupil Personnel
Vice-Principal for Administrative Services
Vice-Principal for Research and Development
Implements guidance program, activity program and health services. Directs pupil registration.
Directs budget and building management; responsible for all aspects of student accounting; assumes role of principal in his absence.
Implements a continuous program of evaluation; coordinates long-range planning; conducts research and interprets other research to the principal and staff.
Domain Leaders
Department Chairmen
Implement and coordinate educational specifications for a broad curriculum area (Physical World, Social World, and Leisure).
Implement learning experiences for students in specific subject areas (Math, English, Science, etc.)
Team Coordinators
Teachers
Teachers in Teams
Teaching Assistants (All categories)

Note: Each leadership position carries with it the obligation of interim decisions at that level if the group agreement is unattainable and an impasse obstructs the educational program.

The chart was sent back to the administrative cabinet, who approved it and forwarded it along with the job descriptions to the school board. The school board said filling all the positions in the model and paying the salaries attached to those positions would cost eight percent more than if the school were traditionally staffed. This cost figure was unacceptable to the board. After some negotiations with the Columbia principal, however, they permitted a three percent cost overrun, a figure they subsequently stood by in the face of two unprecedented budget defeats at the hands of the district voters.

During the spring the project director sent a memo concerning the 1970 summer workshop to the Columbia staff and the staffs of two other schools recently added to the DS workshop. Staff attendance at this workshop was to be mandatory and, in line with U.S.O.E. policy, workshop time was to be used for training *only*, with no curriculum or instructional development work of any sort permitted.

The Columbia staff exploded—but to little avail. Protests, meetings, and negotiations resulted in a week's instructional development time for teachers of the interdisciplinary courses, but no other concessions.

In the spring and early summer of 1970 persons were selected to fill the DS positions. The DS workshop began in the middle of June and ran for six weeks. The Columbia principal resigned effective July 1 to accept a district administrative position in another state. He was replaced by the acting district director of personnel.

Labor Day arrived and with it the start of the school year. Forty-five teachers returned from the previous year with the total full-time certificated staff in 1970-71 numbering 55. This, too, was the implementation year for the Columbia DS model and for the interdisciplinary courses. A modular schedule was in use for the first time. PREP time and Rep Rooms were continued from the previous year as was the Columbia decision-making model. A move also was afoot to initiate an open campus.

Things didn't go well during that fall of 1970. Problems arose initially with the modular schedule. Students began to abuse PREP time and not to attend Rep Rooms. With late September and early October came unanticipated problems for teachers in the interdisciplinary courses. Because only brief outlines had been prepared when

these courses were initially proposed and little time was allowed for instructional development during the previous summer, these teachers had to write their own courses-of-study as they went along, a task some found complicated by the fact that it had to be done cooperatively with other teachers on a team. Also, some instructional materials ordered for the new course had not arrived. Procedures for taking attendance at the large group sections of these courses hadn't been devised and skipping was becoming a problem. Additionally, as of October 15, over 100 sophomores had requested transfers out of the interdisciplinary courses, usually citing the excess difficulty of the work as their reason.

In mid-October the issue of whether to have an open campus also provoked much controversy. The staff participated in a U.S.O.E. site visit regarding the DS model and sought to accommodate the flood of other visitors who came to view a DS model in operation. In addition, many of the above issues were dealt with by the faculty through the school's participative decision-making process. Difficulties also arose in that regard, since it became difficult not only for the staff to secure consensus on solutions to problems but even to identify what the problems were in the first place.

Finally, domains didn't function. Only four meetings were held during the fall and these were poorly attended. By mid-December just four new interdisciplinary courses had been proposed for the following year.

At the district level other significant events were transpiring. Prior to the Christmas break the DS project director noted in a progress report to the school board that costs for the next year's staffing of the DS schools would "not exceed traditional staffing expenditures." The three percent overrun for staffing was not to be allowed the following year. Indeed, in mid-April 1971 the district personnel department officially so informed the Columbia principal.

The principal subsequently took this information to the staff, indicating that as he saw it there were two courses of action open to them. They could decide to keep the present DS model and its salary differentials, although to do this under a condition of reduced funding would necessitate teachers having larger class sizes in order to create

sufficient slack in the budget to pay the DS increments. Alternatively, they could decide to do away with the DS model, although this would entail a return to a departmentally organized school.

On April 23, 1971, the staff voted to discontinue the Columbia DS model.

As the story of differentiated staffing ran its course at Columbia High School, what were some of the factors along the way that may have influenced staff members to vote for discontinuance of the innovation?

The Setting: Norms and Values at Columbia

The administrators, counselors, and teachers brought together in 1968 as the initial Columbia staff members were for the most part strangers. These persons presumably were selected, however, because they were "renegades and innovators"—persons of "proven innovative talent" and "strong personal motivation and self-assertion." Such selection criteria may have resulted in the persons recruited into the organization having similar values concerning authority, the exercise of authority, and equality. The interpersonal relations training subsequently experienced by them at various times, then, may have operated to convert these similar individual values into group norms. That training, with its emphasis on participative decision making, equality, and open relationships may also have operated independently to instill values pertaining to those issues in individual staff members and build related norms into the group. At any rate, what does seem clear is that the criteria employed in the staff selection process and/or the interpersonal relations training received by the staff resulted in a set of individual values and group norms that appears to have had an important part to play in the story of DS's discontinuance at Columbia High School.

One such value was a belief in governance by the governed. It manifested itself in a number of forms, one being a norm that was formalized as an organizational rule: all policy and procedural issues affecting the staff were to be decided by the staff.

Staff members also seem to have held a belief that *all* persons—teachers, students, members of the community—were of equal value. Certainly a norm of equality emerged at Columbia. While an admin-

istrator or science teacher or English teacher performed different jobs, the jobs were to be viewed as of equal value, as were the persons performing the jobs. There was to be no ranking of staff members in relation to each other.

What part did these staff norms and values, for the most part intentionally built into the setting for Columbia's attempt at planned change, play in this story of discontinuance?

Incompatibility: Expectations for Project Control

Their belief in governance by the governed and faculty decision making appears to have been taken by some Columbia staff members to include the right to determine the nature of the preparation activities they would undertake in regard to the formulation and implementation of their DS model. They also expected to be the determiners of the dimensions of the Columbia DS model.

On the other hand, by the fall of 1969 the project director had come to believe that any U.S.O.E. guidelines for DS projects should be accepted unreservedly in Overland. Also, he felt any agreements made between the school district and the U. S. Office concerning the local project should be adhered to strictly. That he assumed the right to undertake whatever action necessary to enforce these guidelines and agreements is indicated by his insistence that the Columbia staff keep its previously-made agreement to write their DS job descriptions, that these descriptions incorporate dimensions included in U.S.O.E. criteria, and that the 1970 summer workshop be for training purposes only.

Similarly, the district's administrative cabinet members indicated by their actions in February 1970 that they expected not only to have the right of review and veto for any DS model devised by the Columbia staff, but to specify some dimensions the staff should build into the model. The project director and the administrative cabinet, then, appear to have believed that control of various aspects of the Columbia DS project lay ultimately with them and not with the Columbia staff.

Given these incompatible expectations, it is not surprising that attempts at control by the project director and administrative cabinet typically provoked protest from the Columbia staff and other actions intended to thwart or at least modify such attempts. In each instance,

however, the staff ultimately had to undertake whatever action was necessary to accommodate the various district-level personnel.

The expenditures of time, energy and emotion required for protest and accommodation appear to have taken their toll at Columbia. The words of a domain leader make the point. When asked why the staff voted to discontinue their DS model, he replied, "There was no real benefit . . . and possibly some real hassle from staying in" and trying to meet the various guidelines.

Another consequence of the staff's subordination to the control of district-level personnel was that the dimensions desired by the latter were built into the Columbia DS model. These dimensions also had a part to play in the story of discintinuance.

Incompatibility: Dimensions of the Model—Staff Values and Norms

The Columbia DS model as it finally emerged in February 1970, in response to U.S.O.E. criteria and the expectations of the project director and the administrative cabinet, was characterized in part by a hierarchy of positions ranked along dimensions of pay and authority. A staff member reports, however, that in the fall of 1969 and winter of 1970: ". . . red flags flew whenever anyone suggested pay differentials or authority differentials or anything to do with hierarchy." Another staff member, commenting on the controversy surrounding the preparation of an organizational chart for the DS model specifying levels of authority, stated: "In building a house you have carpenters and plumbers. They're doing different jobs but have equal status . . . We were getting back to the old idea of horizontal structure in the building."

These statements, exemplifying available evidence, indicate that the Columbia DS model was strongly opposed by a number of staff members because it violated values and norms they held. A hierarchy of authority does not square with individual beliefs in governance by the governed or a norm of staff decision making. Pay differentials and the notion of individual ranking implied by hierarchy run counter to a sense of the equal value of persons. The vote over a year later to discontinue the DS model, then, might well have been an expression

by some staff members of residual resistance rooted in such incompatibility of norms and values with dimensions of the innovation.

The incompatibility of expectations for project control along with the incompatibility of staff norms and values with the DS model, however, may have contributed to the vote to discontinue in another more immediate manner, as will be seen in the next section.

Non-Functioning of Key Positions in the DS Model

The Columbia DS model primarily was intended by the staff to serve as a mechanism for the development and implementation of a school-wide interdisciplinary curriculum. This curriculum, in turn, would accomplish the "education of the whole child." At the time the model was formulated, the staff apparently perceived the positions of domain member and domain leader as central to the model. Domain members were to generate proposals for interdisciplinary courses to be included in the curriculum. Domain leaders were to facilitate generation and arrange for implementation of that curriculum.

During the fall and winter of the model's implementation year, however, "the domains were not working successfully. The positions were there but not much activity was attached to them." This assessment was made by the English department chairman and was one of the reasons she cited when asked why the staff voted to discontinue the DS model. Domain leaders, other department chairmen, and the administrative vice-principal also cited this reason. Apparently the perceived non-functioning of key positions in the DS model was taken by a number of persons to indicate the entire model was not needed and should no longer be continued.

Some staff members attributed this lack of activity on the part of incumbents of domain positions to "busyness" and "fatigue." The fatigue was, in turn, attributed by them to two sources: the DS project preparation activities engaged in by the staff over the past two years and to the "busyness" of the staff during the fall of 1970 as it sought to cope with the anticipated and unanticipated demands of the overall Columbia educational program, especially its new components. Observational data and document analysis support these staff members' contention that busyness and fatigue existed and lend credence to their

perception as to the sources of those phenomena. It would seem likely, though, that an additional source of fatigue might well have been the energy-consuming conflicts over control of the project and nature of the DS model.

A direct relationship of fatigue and busyness with the non-functioning of key positions in the DS model seems somewhat questionable, however. These two factors could be expected to operate equally to diminish job performance of staff members not only with regard to domain positions, but with other positions they occupied as well.

The problems with the interdisciplinary courses in the fall of 1970 may account in part for the domain positions being more susceptible to non-functioning than other positions. The desirability of the end—the interdisciplinary curriculum—that justified the existence of the domain positions could have been perceived by staff members as subject to question. Given conditions of fatigue and busyness, and thus the necessity to get priorities for the expenditures of time and energy, staff members would be less likely to perform jobs the ends of which have come to be perceived by them as of low-desirability or of less-desirability than ends of other jobs.

Other factors that might have made domain positions susceptible to non-performance under conditions of fatigue and busyness include the newness of the positions, with all that could entail; vague job descriptions; lack of behavioral precedents for the job; lack of organizational mechanisms to monitor the performance of the job; and lack of formal rewards and punishment to be awarded on the bases of the monitoring, *etc.* Also, the non-functioning might somehow be a consequence of residual resistance of staff members to the DS model as a whole, with busyness and fatigue used to justify non-performance because they were "socially acceptable" reasons. Space, however, prohibits a thorough-going discussion of these issues.

The Life and Death of an Educational Innovation (Concluded)

In April 1971 the Columbia staff learned formally that its certified personnel allotment for the following year did not include the three

percent overrun permitted in the current year. Maintenance of the salary differentials in the DS model, the staff was told by the principal, would necessitate larger class sizes the following year. The staff was asked if they wished to continue the DS model.

Staff members, then, were being asked if they wished to continue a DS model the dimensions of which apparently ran counter to some members' norms and values. Key positions in the model, too, had not functioned. The interdisciplinary curriculum (the primary goal of the model and one which may have served to diminish initial resistance to the model's dimensions) may have been viewed by a number of staff members as a less desirable end than previously. Finally, staff members were being told that to continue the model at a reduced level of funding would necessitate larger class sizes—a condition unlikely to be accepted with equanimity, given the fatigue and busyness experienced by the staff.

With only two dissenters, staff members voted to discontinue the DS model. The following day the principal conveyed this outcome to the project director and the district's administrative cabinet. The project director wanted Columbia to continue in the project by "administrative edict." The cabinet, however, accepted the decision of the staff. More than three years of effort had come to an end. Differentiated staffing at Columbia High School had been laid to rest.

Some Implications for Policy and Research

The story of DS at Columbia High School raises a number of issues that might be of interest both to the educational practitioner who must manage the planned change process and the educational researcher studying educational organizations and their attempts to innovate.

One intriguing point emerges out of the analysis of staff members' values and norms, expectations for project control, and dimensions of the Columbia DS model. If the interpersonal relations training received by the Columbia staff were at least in part the origin of the norms and values that proved incompatible with dimensions of the innovation, then the anomalous situation existed in which the training activities included in the preparation phase of the innovation process produced

intended outcomes (some norms and values) that, in turn, had the unintended consequence of contributing to the discontinuance of the innovation. In short, training activities believed to facilitate implementation of the innovation apparently proved to be inimical to such implementation. The question should be raised, then, as to whether any one preparation strategy, such as the widely-used interpersonal relations training, can be considered an appropriate strategy to use with all innovations. Might one type of preparation strategy or activity be more appropriate with one type of innovation than another?

The earlier discussion of the non-functioning of key positions in the DS model suggests two other points that may have some interest for persons who manage or study educational change. The domains, it will be recalled, were initially established to generate the interdisciplinary curriculum. Teachers attempting to implement the interdisciplinary courses comprising that curriculum, however, encountered a number of operational difficulties. These difficulties may have been serious enough to cause some staff members to question the desirability of the interdisciplinary curriculum. Such questioning, in turn, may have prompted these persons not to participate in domain activities and thus, along with other factors, may have contributed to the non-functioning of key elements of the DS model, namely domain member and domain leader positions. That non-functioning may have prevented the extension of the interdisciplinary curriculum and the phasing out of departmental courses. It also apparently contributed to the staff's decision to junk their DS model.

This all suggests the possibility of the occurrence of a "house-of-cards" phenomenon when multiple implementation of innovations is attempted. Some of those innovations may be functionally or ideologically dependent upon others in the "package." In the above case the interdisciplinary curriculum cannot be made functional on a school-wide basis if domains do not operate to generate and make arrangements for the implementation of the interdisciplinary courses. On the other hand, if the interdisciplinary courses are discredited, for whatever the reason, the ends for which the domains were set up are discredited. Domain members thus have no justification for expending their energy; domains have no *raison d'etre*. In short, if one innovation falls, other

innovations dependent upon it may fall in part or *in toto*—like a house of cards.

The second point that emerges from the discussion of the non-functioning of key positions in the DS model also has to do with the consequences of the multiple adoption of innovation and focuses on the concept of "completion." The multiple adoption of innovations, among other factors, appears to have contributed to the existence of fatigue and busyness among Columbia staff members. These conditions, in turn, seem ultimately to have induced competition of one innovation with another and with previously existing practices for the time and energy of the staff. Such competition had consequences for the degree of implementation of an innovation into the school's on-going body of practices. It would be interesting to know what factors prompted one innovation or practice to be chosen over another for expenditure of time and energy. Also, if "reversion to type" occurs in attempts at innovation as often as it is reported, then one might wonder why previously established practices appear to have some edge over newly introduced practices in the competition for time, energy and other resources.

At any rate, the "house-of-cards" phenomenon and this occurrence of competition for resources may have some implications for the "strategy of grandeur" or "wholistic approach" to educational change embodied, for example, in the Experimental Schools and, to a lesser degree, in the Multiunit School-Individually Guided Education programs.

John E. Jones

An Elementary School Under Conditions of Planned Change

In today's schools much emphasis is placed on instructional and organizational change. Associated interests take a variety of forms and focus on a wide cross-section of different aspects of the educational setting. One such form is planned change—a conscious, rational effort over a period of time devoted to fashioning a desirable change and carrying out its implementation. Efstutt Elementary School's involvement in the Overland School District's Differentiated Staffing (DS) Project (Jones, 1973) serves as a case study of an elementary school under conditions of planned change.

Planned Change at Efstutt: Getting Started

The Efstutt Elementary School is located in a typical small suburban community. At the time of the project's beginning, Efstutt had a student enrollment of 470 pupils housed in a building designed with

instructional wings for each two academic grades. The teaching space was flexible, with folding walls so that three classrooms could be made into one large area in a matter of minutes. Each wing also had a conference room and an office for preparing materials. In some respects, Efstutt seemed to be an ideal setting for the DS experiment.

The events and decisions in Overland which led to developing the differentiated staffing plan in the district are summarized in an earlier part of this volume by Pellegrin. No attempt will be made to reiterate Pellegrin's overview, with the exception of making a few general remarks for orientation. The basic themes of the proposal written by the Overland central office staff and submitted to U.S.O.E. were to: individualize instruction; utilize the skills of a variety of educational personnel by combining flexible scheduling with small group processes; and improve decision-making processes and interpersonal relations. The Efstutt teachers participated in in-service workshops to develop their implementation plans for the project. These seminars culminated with district approval of the staff's implementation plans. In all, the district-level planning for the Overland DS project had been underway for approximately two years before implementation began officially at Efstutt in the fall of 1970.

Developing a Model

In their planning efforts the Efstutt teachers examined a wide cross-section of materials about differentiated staffing and studied several DS models which were being used in other projects. They decided that no single model was sufficient for their implementation effort and devised a model of their own which was divided into three parts: a "Responsibility Flow Chart," an "Organizational Chart" and a list of recommended job descriptions.

The responsibility flow chart illustrated overlapping team structures which incorporated the two major school functions: instruction and curriculum. The three instructional teams were made up of two grades each: the 1-2, 3-4, and 5-6 teams. The curriculum coordinating teams were cross-grade in composition and were organized around four major curriculum areas: mathematics, science, language arts and social studies.

As in previous years, the new Efstutt organizational chart included a building principal, one clerical aide, classroom teachers and several special-area teachers. However, some completely new positions were incorporated to establish "true" differentiation as set forth in the Overland District project's guidelines.

The new position of instructional coordinator became the number two position in the building and was placed directly below the principal in the organizational hierarchy. Positions for three instructional team leaders and four curriculum team coordinators were created. The persons who filled these new positions also served as classroom teachers, but received remuneration for their extra responsibilities.

At the classroom-level, the number of teaching positions was reduced from 18 to 13. To ease the increased pupil load, 12 teacher assistant positions were established and filled on an hourly basis. In most cases, each person was assigned to a single teacher. Two clerical assistants were also employed to help the teachers in preparing their materials.

The model proposed even greater support for the project. A larger-than-usual group of student teachers was assigned to Efstutt School from nearby universities. The model also included plans for community resource persons, high school aides, and peer teaching by Efstutt pupils.

The recommended job descriptions, which will be discussed later in this chapter, eventually were written for every position in the model with the exception of teacher assistant.

Preparing for Implementation

All DS project faculty attended six one-week workshops during the summer of 1970. The workshops included a series of seminars and practicums designed to meet the requirements of differentiated staffing roles. Afternoon activities gave each pilot school an opportunity to design its own implementation program for its own unique setting. Seminar topics were diverse, including sessions on interpersonal skills and designs for individualized instruction. Workshop practicums designated for the Efstutt staff focused on implementing instructional and

curriculum teams. However, only a few Efstutt teachers attended sessions which concentrated on team concepts.

At the last one-week workshop, which was held just before the school year started, the Efstutt staff decided to open school in a traditional, self-contained style. The reason for this was to allow teachers and pupils to adjust to the new staff members present in the classrooms. This decision had a considerable influence on the project's subsequent implementation activities. The teacher assistants and student teachers were to help in their assigned classrooms, but at this time there was no emphasis on individualized instruction, small group processes, flexible scheduling, new decision-making processes, or changing interpersonal relations.

Moving into the Project: Where Plans and Practices Depart

With the opening of the 1970-71 school year, the Efstutt staff began implementing its DS model. However, what was proposed in the model was not matched by actual happenings in the school. One area of obvious discrepancy lay in the roles people assumed. Actual role behaviors varied considerably from the job descriptions recommended in the original implementation plan.

The principal struggled with his new role as the problems he faced were markedly different from those of his previous experiences. Relating to each of the considerably increased number of adult employees was a new strain. The instructional coordinator, who was to organize activities of teachers with the principal and ease some of the principal's burden, was not readily accepted by most teachers and teacher assistants, who continued to come to the principal with their problems. In addition, the principal, like his staff, was unsure about how to implement the project and whether to adopt new role behaviors, and often avoided some of the hard issues at hand.

Throughout the year, the principal's role difficulties were compounded by additional demands including hosting a large influx of visitors, keeping outside speaking engagements and managing in-

creasing student discipline problems. He was often heard to complain about the amount of time he had to spend on administrative- and management-level duties and the amount of paperwork he had to process. Lack of time also limited the principal's ability to lead the project.

The new instructional coordinator suffered problems leading to discrepancies between her job description and her actual role. Many teachers did not view the instructional coordinator as having the skills necessary to carry out her job. She was by-passed by many teachers. Some staff members, particularly those who had been with the principal for several years, found it difficult to bring their problems to her instead of the principal. The principal actually contributed to the staff's inability to adjust by not relinquishing many of his former responsibilities to the instructional coordinator. Because she frequently demanded these responsibilities, she appeared "pushy" to the principal and teachers.

The instructional coordinator felt a strong commitment to the DS project and its goals, but because of the resistance on the part of the staff, she was not able to function in the role planned for her. She wanted to be a responsible resource person to teachers, as designated in her job description, but the staff did not call on her. Her job description also specified that she spend at least 25 percent of her time in direct contact with students. But since the teachers also were reluctant to release their students to her, she was unable to function in this capacity. Moreover, what was described as one of her major responsibilities, the training of teacher assistants, was partially thwarted. She believed that teacher assistants should take a more active role in the classroom than merely controlling pupils; they should assist in the instructional function and supervise students during recess and before school. This was met with resistance by some of the older teachers, who felt the assistants were there to help correct papers and watch students and not to participate in an instructional capacity.

The organizational chart identified seven new leadership positions: three instructional team leaders and four curriculum coordinators. In actual practice however, only six persons filled these positions, with one person serving as both a team leader and a curriculum coordinator.

Curriculum team coordinator was a non-tenured position calling for

an additional $1000 in salary. The four curriculum coordinators were to have one-sixth of their instructional time released, about an hour a day, to provide leadership for developing curricular changes.

However, the curriculum coordinator positions did not develop as they were planned. First of all, the one-hour-per-day time block never materialized. Second, the curriculum team meetings were held sporadically and given to low-level tasks, mainly passing on information about what was happening and talking about ordering books and supplies. In fact, there were only two curriculum team meetings, one in October and one in January, prior to the last week of school. The competition among curriculum and instructional teams for the time of the same personnel also made it difficult for the curriculum coordinators to function effectively.

Instructional team leader was also a non-tenured position which called for a salary differential of $350 per year. The principal simply designated one member of each team as the leader even though the job descriptions called for the team leader to be selected by the team members, the instructional coordinator and the principal. The instructional team leader was to call meetings; make interim team decisions between meetings; be responsible for the workings of his team; promote decision making; maintain communication within the team and between his team and the other teams and the instructional coordinator; and coordinate the duties and schedules for the non-certified personnel within the team. Even though this position was originally deemed as low-level, it was soon recognized to play an important function in the project plan.

The instructional team leaders met weekly with the instructional coordinator, usually during the lunch hour when there were 30 to 45 minutes to discuss mutual problems. Teams met at least once a week after school and during a lunch hour each week so that teacher assistants could join in the planning.

In these meetings each instructional team member was called upon to cite problems he or she was having so that they might be discussed and resolved—a technique the team members had learned in previous DS interpersonal training. An analysis of the team minutes shows

that the majority of their concerns focused on recurring student control problems. This area of constant concern made it difficult for them to focus on other matters requiring team attention, especially instructional ones.

The Efstutt model designated 13 classroom teaching positions: instructors—experienced teachers—and associate instructors or first year teachers. Overlooked by the model were job descriptions for teachers of physical education, art, music reading, a counselor and an instructional media center coordinator, none of whom played a formal role in the instructional teams. The organizational chart showed them as the supportive personnel only and they were not organized into a separate team.

The Efstutt model did include job descriptions for second-level support positions, including teacher interns, teacher aides, clerical aides, student teachers and high school aides. The participation of the teacher interns and student teachers followed the traditional format used by schools and universities in their training programs.

The Efstutt model's description for teacher aide was like that for a clerical aide. The work assignments of the aide focused on preparing ditto masters, duplicating and collating materials, correcting papers and keeping track of art supplies and books. Teacher aides worked a four-hour day.

It is significant to note that teacher assistant's position was omitted in the recommended job descriptions. Instead, the duties of the teacher assistants were loosely defined by the principal and others as non-certified paraprofessionals hired to work with the teachers in the classrooms. There were to be 12 such people, each one assigned to a different teacher.

The lack of a job description for this position provided the principal with a great deal of latitude in selecting the teacher assistants. Only twice were any of the teachers involved in interviewing and selecting teacher assistants. Some of the teacher assistants had previous teaching experience, but were not credentialed, while others were certified teachers. Some of the teacher assistants were hired in time to attend the 1970 summer workshops; others were not (Everhart, 1973).

A Brief Chronology

As noted, before school opened the teachers and the principal decided to open school in the traditional style with self-contained classrooms even though there were more pupils per classroom and a significantly increasing number of adults in the building.

During the opening month of school visitors were restricted so that the staff might concentrate to the fullest on the implementation effort. The first month of school found self-contained classrooms, folding doors between the classrooms remaining closed, teachers sharing neither students nor instructional responsibilities and each teacher assistant assigned to a single teacher. There were few team meetings.

Beginning with the second month of school the ban on visitors was lifted and the first of what proved to be an incredible number of visitors began to pour through. Attending to the curiosity of these guests stole precious time away from the instructional and supervisory functions of the team leaders and administrators.

Furthermore, the scheduling of instructional activities posed severe problems for the 3-4 and 5-6 teams. Early in the fall the 3-4 team found their scheduling pattern had created for too much student movement and confusion. The problem was replicated in the 5-6 team who had tried a modular schedule. Their students also were lost and confused. As the teams continued in their efforts to develop more realistic schedules, they found their schedules were becoming more and more traditional in nature.

Understandably the staff was considerably fatigued by November. As the number of visitors, scheduling problems and difficulties with student discipline increased, teacher morale decreased. There never seemed to be enough time to get things done. Earlier when he discovered that teachers were coming back to the building during the evenings and on Saturdays and taking stacks of work home, the principal told them not to devote any time beyond the normal eight-hour working day on any aspect of their school work. Nevertheless, by Christmas many of the teachers had been ill and all of them were weary from the pressures of implementing the new project.

Somewhat rejuvenated by January, the Efstutt staff devoted a series

of meetings to resolve some of the difficult, recurring problems that had plagued their efforts. Alternative solutions included revamping the organization of the project, demanding additional financial support, having curriculum coordinators give up their $1000 additional salary to hire more teacher assistants, and lengthening the teacher assistants' working day. They finally settled on the demand that the project director provide additional financial support.

The project director approved additional funds to add an hour a day so that teacher assistants could be involved in planning efforts with the teachers, provide additional compensation for 3-4 and 5-6 team teachers to meet on two Saturdays to plan ways to improve instruction and student control, and bring in a consultant in elementary school scheduling. The consultant, however, had had no experience in elementary schools. Nonetheless, the 5-6 team did develop a more satisfactory schedule which they used during the balance of the year. By now the staff was making a concerted effort to implement the DS program. They were beginning to discuss the kinds of things they would like and the changes that would have to be made during the balance of the year and beyond. The instructional coordinator was pushing to have her job description rewritten. There were discussions about the possibility of using teacher interns in place of teacher assistants for the coming year.

Despite signs that the staff was making some progress, certain problems persisted. Pupil control problems had not diminished and planning time for instructional activities was insufficient still. These problems exacted their toll so that by April over half of the teachers involved in the Efstutt differentiated staffing project had formally requested transfers to other schools or had made plans to leave the district. In addition, the principal had requested a transfer for one fourth grade teacher.

Although the staff continued to devote a great deal of effort to the DS implementation plan, as the school year drew to a close, the district project director's suggestions for summer workshops were met with little enthusiasm by district faculty. In the meantime, the principal had been transfered to another elementary school in the district. At this point the Efstutt staff appeared to have fallen short of the goals they had set forth in their deliberations of the previous summer. The

funding at the district level had been reduced considerably and there was some question about whether federal funds for the project would be available for the coming year.

Major Implementation Barriers Identified

Throughout the year, a number of barriers could be seen to thwart the project plans of the Efstutt faculty. They involved all levels of personnel in the school and many of them were visible throughout the year (Jones, forthcoming).

One such barrier was a lack of change-agent leadership. The change-agent leadership at Efstutt Elementary School fell mainly to the building principal. Although he had ten years' experience as an elementary school principal, including five years at Efstutt, was well-versed on the project, and had served as a member of the district differentiated staffing committee, he found himself bogged down with administrative problems once the school year began. In addition, his time was consumed by the influx of visitors, increasing student discipline problems, endless paperwork and by serving as a public relations officer. Consequently, he withdrew from helping the staff implement their plan.

Other people who could have provided change-agent leadership were not able to. Although the instructional coordinator had a great deal of experience and skill to offer, staff members did not accept her attempts to provide leadership. The instructional team leaders chose to interpret their job descriptions strictly, so they seldom assumed leadership beyond managing their own teams. The curriculum team leaders did little to function in this capacity. In all, although the Efstutt model identified potential change-agent leaders, no one functioned fully in this role.

Lack of understanding of the project was a second serious barrier throughout the implementation effort. The original Overland District plan had been developed by two members of the central office staff, who did not participate in the 1970 training workshops. The two organizational charts and the job descriptions which the staff developed as a model for implementation, were devised with limited knowledge

about what the district had in mind. The principal was well-informed about differentiated staffing and the Efstutt project, but the many demands on his time left him with little time to share his understanding with the other staff members.

No one who saw the project in its totality was able to influence the situation. The instructional coordinator seemed unaware of the key aspects of the project such as individualized instruction, team teaching and scheduling. The staff focused on the reorganized staffing dimension rather than on instructional changes. But their initial lack of success with, among other things, flexible scheduling, dampened their continued efforts in trying to meet the goals of the project.

During this period, parents were particularly concerned with sex education and family life planning proposals also being considered by the Overland District. When parent meetings were held, questions focused on sex education and interest in DS was neglected. The principal reported few parent calls about the new staffing plan, but frequent comments about sex education. The presence of a high-interest innovation had the effect of masking parent interest in Efstutt's DS plan.

Another barrier was the faculty's failure to give top priority to implementing the DS plan. Recurring problems of pupil control, endless paperwork, pupil evaluation, interpersonal relations and instructional schedules plagued the participants all year long. The staff's inability to resolve these recurring problems seemed to point out their lack of preparation for the project and in many ways explains why they fell behind in implementing it.

A most irksome issue was the inability to deal successfully with student discipline problems. Because of the new staffing plan and the proliferation of new roles, responsibility for student misconduct was unclear. Many adults were reluctant to assert themselves in unpleasant situations involving the supervision of pupils. Students became adept in playing one adult against another and in capitalizing on the most obvious weaknesses of the staff, especially the scheduling difficulties.

The teachers never resolved the recurring problem of too much work. How could they complete the endless paperwork for the project itself? How could they evaluate the 40 pupils in each classroom? How could they share responsibility with new program personnel? How could

they work with teacher assistants who had neither adequate released time nor adequate indoctrination? How could they go about solving any of these problems when they were unfamiliar with many aspects of the plan and were untrained and unprepared to meet these eventualities? They could not and they did not.

The staff also experienced recurring problems in working out adequate instructional schedules. The 3-4 team didn't come up with a workable schedule until early winter. The 5-6 team struggled with a modular schedule approach until February. For some, scheduling problems persisted throughout the year and for this reason alone they found it difficult to concentrate on the DS implementation.

Not only was there too much work, but also there was too little time. Lack of time presented another barrier to planned change. No one seemed to have adequate time for planning and related activities. The principal's time was consumed in the day-to-day business of running the building. The teachers were faced with more students per classroom, more student discipline problems, more adults to relate to and coordinate, more meetings and for some, added leadership responsibilities. Moreover, even though one of the key features of the program was to have teacher assistants relieve the teachers of clerical and supervisory duties, this did not occur, and the teachers were inundated with paperwork and other administrative details.

Yet another barrier presented itself as the unfulfilled need for new role behaviors on the part of the project participants. The goals of the project were abstract and general, and provided little help to the project school staff in their attempt to relate goals to new behaviors.

The Efstutt staff was unable and at times unwilling to follow the goals outlined in the district documents. The only other basis for project implementation was the recommended job descriptions. The staff's inability to match job descriptions with actual behaviors created a vast discrepancy which was rarely acknowledged and never bridged.

As a whole, the staff was unable to train themselves for new ways of participation. The principal was not willing to delegate responsibilities to the instructional coordinator or to other staff members. He did not utilize the new chain of command and relate to people in new ways. The teachers did not collaborate in the instruction and evaluation of

their pupils. They did not release control of their students to the teacher assistants, a prerogative which if exercised could have freed them to concentrate on other aspects of the implementation.

These barriers to the implementation of DS in Efstutt are only broad headings for a whole range of problems which when added together contributed to the lack of success of the project. Hopefully, by describing them, other staffs who have considered embarking upon a similar venture will avoid the same pitfalls.

Larry J. Reynolds

Teacher Adaption to Planned Change

The Case of Stormy Heights

The study of Stormy Heights was designed to examine the implementation phase of a major innovation in an elementary school and to identify problems associated with the process of planned change (Reynolds, 1973). The proposed innovation was both organizational and curricular. The staff was called on to implement a differentiated staffing plan involving a fundamental modification in the school's work organization and substantial changes in the planning, coordination, and execution of instruction. At the same time, the staff sought to alter the curricular emphasis in the school—specifically, to introduce an "arts-centered curriculum." The differentiated staffing model was regarded as a means of affecting curriculum change as well as a desirable end in its own right.

This report focuses on early events in the implementation period and on the adaptations of the organizational actors—the teaching staff of Stormy Heights, in particular—to proposed and actual changes. We will

be concerned with the initial steps taken at the opening of the school year to implement the innovative program and with the problems that arose as a consequence of these alterations. As we will see, the successive adaptations of the teaching faculty to the problems had a distinct bearing on further implementation of the program.

The Setting and the Proposal

In Stormy Heights, before the introduction of the new staff organization, there were about 500 pupils distributed among 18 full-time teachers in 18 self-contained classrooms. Staff members were experienced classroom teachers and most, including the principal, had been in the building since the school had opened nearly ten years earlier. One of some 30 elementary schools in a city of 80,000, it served a relatively stable neighborhood of middle- and upper-middle-income families generally supportive of education.

The work system with which the teaching staff had become familiar over the years was that of the conventional self-contained classroom, graded classes, and standard curriculum. Except for physical education, taught by a specialist, the teachers were subject-matter generalists, responsible for all subjects at the assigned grade level. The familiar behavioral routines were consistent with the autonomy-equality norm described by Lortie (1964): teachers were to be free from the interference of other adults while teaching, they were to be considered and to treat one another as equals, and they were to act in a non-intervening but friendly manner toward their colleagues.

The norm allowed the individual teacher considerable discretion about the nature of instruction in his classroom. Therefore, the instructional program of Stormy Heights had been characterized by variability in the instructional goals emphasized by the different teachers and in the materials and methods of instruction they employed. The task of each teacher was relatively independent of every other teacher. The autonomy-equality norm also allowed teachers to work out cooperative teaching relationships with one another if they found it congenial, and, indeed, such an arrangement had existed among the three third-grade teachers at Stormy Heights for the past five years.

The impetus for change in Stormy Heights was furnished by the response of officials of the Firville District (the parent district of Stormy Heights) to a proposal request by a federal agency. With the support of a national group of art educators, the U.S. Office of Education had invited school systems across the country to submit proposals to serve as demonstration centers for blending the arts into the curriculum. Two members of Firville's central office staff, who had just negotiated another U.S.O.E. grant for establishing an experimental differentiated staffing program in four elementary schools, along with the district's arts coordinators, prepared and submitted the new proposal. At this point, the proposal writers had no particular elementary school in mind in which to locate the demonstration project, should the proposal be accepted, and no Stormy Heights personnel participated in preparing the proposal.

A novel and apparently attractive feature of the Firville proposal, insofar as the national art education reviewers were concerned, was the idea that a differentiated staffing plan would be introduced to facilitate conversion to an arts-centered curriculum. Four major goals were conveyed in the proposal.

Instructional Team Organization

Classroom teachers were to be organized into three cross-graded instructional teams, each consisting of a team leader, five certificated teachers, and a paraprofessional. The organization was patterned after the Multiunit school developed by the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning, and the teacher-members of the teams would be jointly responsible for instructing the pupils under their jurisdiction. Flexibility was seen as an advantage of the proposed organization. The Multiunit structure was to facilitate interaction among teachers and specialists and "provide ease of cooperative teaching and planning on the part of all staff members."* Importantly, the teams were to be the agencies for long-range curriculum development.

In addition, a team of five specialists (in visual arts, dance, drama, and music) was to be recruited to the staff on a part- or full-time basis,

* Quotations in this section are from the formal proposal, reproduced in Reynolds (1973).

with one of its members designated as the arts team leader and associate director of the project. The project director, as it turned out, was one of the proposal writers from the central office, simultaneously co-directing the district's differentiated staffing project in another four schools.

Immediate Increase in the Quantity and Quality of Arts Instruction Provided to Students

In the short run, students were to experience a massively enriched program in the arts. This was to be accomplished through a direct classroom role for the specialists of the arts team. The role of the music specialist, as described in the proposal, is illustrative: . . . to provide direct teaching assistance in the classroom, to provide assistance to the total staff in integrating music into the total program, and to work with other arts specialists in creating and providing a balanced total program in the arts. Enrichment was to be accomplished, too, by an ambitious program of art fairs, artists-in-residence, guest lecturers and demonstrations, Saturday interest groups, field trips, and many other special events.

In-service Training of Classroom Teachers

In order that enriched art instruction be sustained in the school after the funding had run out, an intensive training program for members of the school's regular teaching faculty was regarded as essential. Specialists on the arts team were to be responsible for that training.

Curriculum Development

The fourth major goal looked toward longer-range consequences of the project. The proposal called for the development of a new curriculum for the school which would "achieve parity between the arts and other instructional areas" and "achieve parity between the affective and cognitive learning provided in the local school curriculum." The arts were to be "infused into all subject areas of the curriculum." The arts specialists, again, were to take the lead, working through the instructional teams, and were to provide the expertise, but the major burden of curriculum revision and materials construction was to rest with the

classroom teachers who, in the end, would have to put the curriculum in effect.

While not explicitly listing it as a goal, the proposal emphasized that classroom teachers would share in determining the direction of the project. Change would not be imposed on teachers. "In the traditional school organization, every teacher has been responsible for his own classroom. Teachers have had little or no involvement in the decision making process of the organization, a condition that cannot be afforded in the Arts Centered School setting." Therefore, teachers should participate fully in decision making. The proposal was not explicit about the procedures or limits of participation—only that decision making was to be "cooperative" and involve "all staff members."

Selection of Stormy Heights

Firville's proposal was approved without amendment by the federal funding authority in mid-spring, and district officials began the process of selecting a participating school. Workshops for the staff were to begin in June and implementation in the fall. The proposal had specified that the arts project would be located in a school where the staff expressed "nearly unanimous interest in an Arts Centered Curriculum, Differentiated Staffing, and a Multi-Unit Structure" and where the total staff was willing to serve as an experimental school "for innovation, modification, and research purposes," as well as to participate in an "extensive training and development program." A letter soliciting interest in the program, enclosing a brief prospectus of the proposal, was sent from the central office to all of Firville's elementary principals, and Stormy Heights subsequently was chosen as the site from among the ten affirmative responses.

While our information is not firm on events during this period,* it appears that the principal of Stormy Heights had "sensed" the sentiment of his staff and decided to offer his school as the demonstration site. There had been no occasion for discussion or vote among the

* Systematic observations did not begin until the following September. Information regarding preceding periods was obtained from retrospect interviews and progress reports of the project.

Stormy Heights teachers concerning their participation. From the teachers' perspective, the selection had been precipitous. One teacher recalled the events in this way: ". . . the teachers were asked by the principal individually their interest one day; the next day they were told the district's differentiated staffing people would speak to them the following day after school; the following day they listened to kind of a hazy presentation and next week they were told they were it."** The choice of Stormy Heights was made in the central office and announced just before the close of school. It seems to have been based on a blend of within-district politics, the size and physical facilities of the building, and the receptivity of the community, staff, and pupils as judged by district personnel.

Following the announcement, teachers unenthusiastic about the program were given the opportunity to transfer to another school, but virtually none did. Generally, the teachers were favorably disposed toward being part of an exciting and innovative experiment that promised a wealth of educational advantages to pupils. The proposal, copies of which were left in the teachers' lounge, was written in a style to elicit enthusiasm for the program and conviction that it would provide desirable outcomes. Its language had high "affective tone" (Smith and Keith, 1971, pp. 40-41). Immediate help was offered teachers in art instruction, an area in which many felt limited competence, and it is likely that the plan of bringing nationally known artists and art educators to the school on a visiting basis was regarded as a rare experience for any elementary school. Not to be overlooked were the more personal benefits to teachers. They were to receive extra pay for attending workshops during the summer and the regular school year. Given the district's salary schedule, this would be a strong inducement to participation.

In any event, teachers who still were uncertain were encouraged by the principal to stay and try it out. He was reported to have said, "Things would not change all that much, we would just have more help than in the past."

** This and subsequent quotations are from the author's field notes.

Summer Workshops

Three one-week workshops were held during the summer. The first involved the entire Stormy Heights faculty (excluding the new cadre of arts specialists) and consisted of training in interpersonal relations skills under the direction of organization development specialists from outside the district. The second was for the "leadership core" of the building—the principal, team leaders, and the arts specialists. An analysis of the workshop reports indicated that their week was spent principally in (1) deciding where the arts office was to be located in the building, (2) planning the third workshop, and (3) planning the first day and week of school.

The final workshop, again involving the entire staff, was held in August, not long before school was to begin. Much of the week was given over to sessions in which the classroom teachers learned about instructional techniques in the arts under the tutelage of the arts specialists and the consultants they brought in. The teachers received a formal introduction to the arts project from the project director, who presented an overview of the project's beginnings and general purposes. He emphasized that the responsibility for implementation was theirs—"the teacher must initiate." As the workshop drew to a close, the staff's attention was drawn to the nuts and bolts issues of starting the school year.

Implementation Progress after a Year

The Stormy Heights staff, augmented by the arts specialists, opened the school year in early September under a commitment to implement differentiated staffing and an "arts-centered curriculum." Toward the close of the school year (when the study ended), progress had been made toward two of the four general goals set forth in the original proposal, but a stalemate had been reached with respect to the other two.

Unquestionably, pupils in Stormy Heights during the year had experienced far more formal and informal instruction in a wider variety of the arts under the direction of more competent educators than at any

other period in the school's history. This was the product of an operational program established just after school opened in which hour-long (or half-hour) classes were scheduled weekly in each of the arts areas (dance, drama, music, and visual arts) in each of the 18 classrooms, conducted by specialists on the arts team. It continued throughout the year. In addition, the arts team organized an extensive program of after-school activities, special events, artists-in-residence and the like for the pupils. There was, indeed, "an immediate increase in the quantity and quality of arts instruction."

It was possible,too, to point to evidence that a program of in-service art training of classroom teachers had been launched. It had begun in one of the summer workshops, of course, but a number of special in-service sessions were held after school and on Saturdays throughout the year. Beyond this, however, a plan was devised by which teachers were expected to remain in their classrooms to observe the arts specialists teach their pupils. This plan also was put into effect shortly after the beginning of school and continued through the year. Thus, from the standpoint of hours of exposure to exemplary teaching methods in the arts, Stormy Heights teachers could be said to have had an extensive in-service training program during the implementation year.

Differentiated staffing and, particularly, the goal of instructional teaming had not materialized by the end of the year. "Teams" and "team leaders" were designated at the year's beginning, and they functioned in important ways to be described shortly—but not as units for planning, coordinating, and teaching pupils under a joint arrangement. Some informal instructional teaming occurred in the course of the year, just as it had in previous years, but not under the aegis of the formal "teams." Generally, the school still consisted of self-contained classrooms.

Nor had the staff made progress in developing a curriculum that would infuse the arts into other subject areas. "Teams" had been regarded as the means for curriculum development, but since they did not function as instructional units, the new curriculum did not arise. One art teacher noted, in a meeting of the arts team, that "he has yet to sit in on a team meeting where the teachers talked about what they are doing in science, art, etc. He said that the meetings are of no

help in finding out what the teachers are planning." The arts specialists found that they would have to work with 18 individual teachers rather than three teams as originally envisioned—an impossible task, given their schedule. In fact, their own arts program was not planned by *their* team. Rather, each specialist had formulated his own independent program. A distinctly segregated instructional program was established early at Stormy Heights, and it characterized the school at the end of the year: arts by the specialists and non-arts by the teachers.

The school's program was a mixture of change and non-change. New structures, new positions and staff members, new classes—and a new commitment to alter the program—created conditions at the beginning of the school year to which the staff had to respond. The past instructional routine was possible no longer. Yet, despite a number of changes, the Stormy Heights program as a whole was little different in the spring from what it had been in the preceding spring, before the school was chosen as the site for innovation. We now examine the adaptations of the staff to these new conditions as we observed them in the course of the implementation year.

Commitment to Do What? Abstractness of the Proposal

The formal proposal to the funding agency provided an important context for the adaptive responses of the Stormy Heights staff. Fortified by the institutional authority of the school board and subsequently enforced by outside evaluators associated with the national arts project, the proposal represented a commitment by district officials to see to it that the innovation occurred. The outside evaluators took extremely seriously the goal statements contained in the proposal. As one of its authors put it, the proposal became "inscribed in stone."

The proposal, however, had not been written as a concrete, detailed specification for an educational program. It was written expressly to solicit financial support from an external agency and emphasized the benefits children would derive from the innovative program rather than details of what the program would be. When the proposal described the program, key phrases tended to be couched in evocative

language ("infusing the arts into the curriculum," "cooperative teaching and planning," "involving teachers in decision making") whose meanings were sufficiently ambiguous to permit widely varying interpretations. The proposal came to serve as the *formal doctrine* for the demonstration school, and one high on the dimension of abstractness (Smith and Keith, 1971).

It was this lofty statement that served as the guide to action. No "institutional plan" emerged to operationalize [illegible] nor did the summer workshops deal concretely with how the school would operate under "differentiated staffing" and "arts-centered curriculum." No members of the Stormy Heights staff had a hand in writing the proposal—neither teachers, arts specialists, nor the principal—and the one person who did, the project director, was an outside figure. Yet it was the staff's responsibility to implement the program.

Thus, there was a clear press on the Stormy Heights staff "to change," but in what direction, how much, how? Given the proposal's ambiguity regarding the shape of the future, required changes came to be defined in terms of patterns of roles, activities and norms, known from the past. The staff was obliged to respond to the press to innovate, but the response carried a strong conservative theme. Reactions of staff members involved a tendency that can best be described as "assimilation to the familiar." This tendency is illuminated in the following discussion.

Two Fateful Decisions

Two decisions were taken, one during the last summer workshop and the other early in the school year, regarding the "first steps" in implementation that had far-reaching consequences for the succeeding course of events.

The first was to establish a temporary schedule, beginning the second week of school by which each arts specialist would take over one period a week in each classroom to teach his specialty. As explained to us at the time, the original purpose was a "device to get the arts personnel into the classroom in order to know the kids." The schedule was seen as lasting through September. The specialists asked the

teachers not to interfere in the classes, since they wanted full responsibility and control. Teachers were free to leave the classroom, or to stay and watch if they preferred.

This was a familiar role for teacher and specialist alike. It is a conventional arrangement generally for subject specialists in the elementary school, and it was the one that had prevailed at Stormy Heights in prior years with respect to physical education instruction. And it certainly respected the norm of autonomy-equality. But the ramifications were enormous.

The arts specialists (three of whom were in the school only half time) found themselves teaching almost all of the time to cover all 18 classrooms, while simultaneously attempting to organize an ambitious program of extracurricular activities. The initial teaching schedule separated them, and they could not function as a team. Most critically, they had greater difficulty in getting together among themselves, let alone with the rest of the faculty, to give concerted thought to the next steps in implementation—to plan what should replace the temporary schedules.

From the standpoint of the classroom teachers, the periods of instruction by the arts specialists were disruptive of the routine which they had barely begun to establish for their classes during the first week. Besides physical education, band practice, and a district Spanish program on TV, there were now four arts teachers to accommodate, as well as an array of special art activities. Art classes were held at irregular, and sometimes unpredictable, times of the day and week during this early phase. To the teachers, no two days seemed the same, and they saw no immediate prospect of settling into an instructional routine.

Three instructional teams were formed at the opening of school and had been holding weekly meetings. Teachers began to use these meetings to express their concerns about the arts schedule and to work out problems the schedules created. Team leaders were prevailed on to relay these concerns to the arts specialists. In consequence, the instructional teams were being diverted from their originally conceived function of "planning and coordinating instruction of the unit" in order to cope with external problems.

The second fateful decision came at the end of September. Almost

by default, the staff decided to make the scheduled periods of art instruction permanent for the year with the important added proviso that the classroom teachers (which included team leaders) would be expected to remain in their classrooms to observe the specialists at work. No alternatives were envisioned for using the talents of the specialists. The decision was appealing at least to the school's leadership core in that it could be defined as achieving in one stroke two of the project's goals: increasing the "quantity and quality" of art instruction and implementing "in-service training" of classroom teachers. Wittingly or unwittingly however the action virtually foreclosed the possibility of achieving the other two goals.

Time Drain as a Vicious Circle

The arts team was locked into an exhausting cycle of activities that left the members no time to work with instructional teams in developing a curriculum to "infuse the arts into all subject areas." Indeed, the arrangement that now had become permanent reinforced the idea of compartmentalization; subject specialists taught pupils the arts and grade teachers taught pupils the basics. One teacher in November described the arts as "only a time block," which "they [pupils] went in for music and they came out of music. That was the beginning and end of it. Music took place only during the scheduled class." Our observational records showed few instances of conversation between specialists and teachers at the period breaks; instruction in arts and the basics proceeded independently.

If the development of instructional teams into units for cooperative planning, teaching, and coordination had been delayed in the early phase, the problems of developing them were severely exacerbated under the new arrangements. Not only did the scheduling difficulties that had diverted team meetings from their intended purpose persist (the schedules constantly were in flux through the school year to meet various exigencies of the arts project), but the time that might have been available to teachers for planning cooperative activities virtually disappeared under the requirement that they remain in their classrooms to observe art instruction. Team leaders, already handicapped

by full-time teaching duties and many other responsibilities, had neither time nor energy to guide their teams into new and unfamiliar instructional patterns.

The arts-by-schedule program, in fact, penalized most seriously those team teaching arrangements that had existed informally in Stormy Heights over the years. Third-grade teachers had been grouping pupils in reading and math for some time, a procedure that entailed careful timing and scheduling among three of them. Now they had to organize their activities within the constraints of the arts schedule, and whenever that schedule changed, they had to reorganize their cooperative endeavors in order to accommodate to it. On the other hand, teachers who followed a self-contained-classroom pattern were better able to work around the arts schedule. Teachers involved in cooperative teaching activities recognized the trouble. As one said, "Teachers ought to go back to the self-contained classroom for the non-arts; it would be easier to schedule that way."

Thus, the decision to continue the arts schedule thwarted the development of viable instructional teams concerned with issues of curriculum and teaching, the very mechanisms on which the project depended for long-range curriculum development and which could have resolved the time bind of specialists as they covered 18 separate classrooms. This same time drain on specialists and the classroom teachers alike, precluded thoughtful deliberation and agreement on alternative strategies of implementation and was largely responsible for the decision to continue arts-by-schedule. It was a vicious circle from which the Stormy Heights staff never escaped during the year of study.

Emerging Teacher Resentment

As time went on and as idealized benefits of the arts project came to be seen in the context of operational costs of implementation, teacher resentment of the project began to accumulate. Feelings were not unmixed, since many benefits, personal and otherwise, were still present, but the effects of the negative reactions were noticeable.

The sources of negative feelings were several. The arts program con-

tinued to infringe on the teacher's freedom to schedule his own classroom teaching and to constrain the informal cooperative arrangements that some teachers valued. Teacher control over the what, when, and how of instruction was slipping. As the year progressed teachers became more and more concerned about subordination of the basics to the art project; "parity of the arts" began to take on the appearance of *dis*parity as classroom teachers tried to weave reading, math, and the rest into the time left over from the arts schedule. Not only was teacher autonomy slipping, but the "equality" half of the autonomy-equality norm was under challenge. Arts specialists were cast in the role of experts, classroom teachers their observant pupils. Under these circumstances, it is an open question as to how much the apprentices "observed" or "learned" through the in-service program. Also not to be dismissed as a source of negative reactions was the element of pure fatigue from the special events, periodic crises, and incessant meetings associated with the project.

Negative reactions were noticeable in their effects on instructional teams. These units became confirmed in the function of dealing with "external relations" between teachers and the school, with team leaders fixed in the role of go-between. Internal concerns for instruction and curriculum virtually disappeared from the meetings.

The Realities of Teacher Decision Making

Responsibility for implementing the innovative program had been turned over to the Stormy Heights staff—teachers, specialists, the principal, and all—and in this sense, at least, the "total staff" had been "involved." Precisely how this amorphous body would "participate fully" in making decisions about the program, or anything else, had been unspecified in the proposal, and the staff could only wait to see what the abstract phrases meant in practice. It quickly became clear that the arts project brought with it decided changes in lines of authority, decision-making processes, and sources of power to which the staff was obliged to respond. Contrary to the principal's remark of the previous spring, things did change "all that much," especially for the regular teachers.

The changes by no means assured that the interests of classroom teachers would be paramount in governing the course of the project, nor even that their concerns would be taken into account. Early in September, for example, the arts team and the executive board of the PTA outlined a meeting for explaining the new program to parents. The meeting format required teachers to describe the program's details to parents in their own classrooms. Teachers did not like this plan, or the way the decision was reached, and prevailed on their team leaders to convey their dissatisfactions to the arts team leader and the principal. This was done, but to no avail. The same pattern was repeated time and again throughout the year—for the decision to make permanent the temporary schedule of arts instruction, for simplifying the complicated forms they had to fill out for the funding agency, and so on. Rarely were teachers or their leaders able to alter decisions and procedures.

It was not that the arts specialists wanted to run the project. As noted above, the arts team was far from a unitary body, its members heavily involved in classroom instruction and operational activities. The responsibility for meeting the terms of the formal proposal and the commitments it represented fell more directly on the arts specialists, particularly the leader of the arts team, than on anyone else in Stormy Heights, and the decisions the arts specialists made in the name of the project carried an authority to which teachers acceded.

Thus, the project carried authority of its own, personified locally in the arts specialists and their leader. The project opened Stormy Heights to compelling new influences from the outside, which affected teachers independently of the pre-existing authority relations. The principal of Stormy Heights defined instructional affairs as the teachers' province, not his. "Teachers are trained professionals," he said, and they should have freedom to decide. The arts project, as he saw it, was an instructional matter and outside his jurisdiction, and he was an inactive participant. He rarely attended meetings of the arts team or instructional teams. Phone calls to the school office about the arts program were transferred to the arts office; the secretary explained to us that she did not want to handle them, nor did the principal, because neither of them was informed about the decisions of the arts personnel or their activities. While the principal maintained his familiar role, a new authority

system emerged in Stormy Heights. Teachers found a new line of authority impinging on them that emanated, by way of the arts team, from the project director's office outside the school; new decision-making arenas emerged that implicated teachers and their team leaders, arts specialists and their leader, and the interface of the two.

Not only had the power been redistributed within the school (to the disadvantage of Stormy Heights' regular teachers), the staff was susceptible to a new source of power from outside the district altogether. Twice in the first five months of implementation disconcerting "messages" arrived from the national project's evaluators—"from Washington"—and each time a new condition was created in Stormy Heights to which the staff sought to adapt. The first came in mid-October. By that time, the staff was already recognizing the difficulties of long-range curriculum planning, and a compatible re-definition of the project goals had gained local acceptance: "enriched arts instruction and in-service training this year, curriculum development next." The national evaluators, however, criticized Stormy Heights for lack of evidence that the arts had been "infused into the curriculum," a point enforced by the district's project director, and the staff had to find another solution. The solution was a familiar one, but hardly effective: a one-day workshop, or "Planning Day." The second activation of outside influence was a site visit by national evaluators in January. This time criticism was directed toward the failure of differentiated staffing. One of the evaluators noted that "the proposal committed the school to differentiated staffing; differentiated staffing was one of the reasons why the school was selected in the first place." With the curriculum infusion still unresolved, the Stormy Heights staff embarked on a series of meetings designed to answer the question, "What is differentiated staffing?"

The outside evaluations had pinpointed the shortcomings of implementation (of which the staff was already aware) but not the causes of the shortcomings. Locked into the vicious circle of time drain, Stormy Heights had no means for finding its own solutions. The result of the outside influence was to put the system under further stress—to close the circle more firmly.

Summary

Of the four goals set for the Stormy Heights staff—immediate enrichment of arts instruction, training classroom teachers in the skills of teaching the arts, development of a curriculum infusing the arts into the standard subject areas, and the creation of instructional teams focusing on curricular and instructional affairs—only the first two goal and perhaps just the first, were substantially achieved during the first year of implementation. The fact that all were not achieved, or well on the road to achievement, put the school under stress from the outside funding agency. This, combined with the internal tensions that had arisen during the year, cast a pall over the staff and its implementation efforts by the time school ended in June.

An important element in accounting for the partial failure (or partial success, depending on one's viewpoint) was the interdependence of the goals. Thus, curriculum development depended on the emergence of viable instructional teams that would serve as centers for teachers and arts specialists to work together in planning. Instructional teams, however, did not emerge during the year, at least not as units concerned with instructional and curricular affairs for their students. This, in turn, was partially due to two fateful decisions taken almost at the outset of the implementation year in pursuit of two other project goals, immediate enrichment of arts instruction and in-service training of teachers. To realize these objectives, a pattern of events was initiated that virtually precluded collaborative activities among members of the Stormy Heights' staff.

This report has delved into the process underlying the flow of events during the earliest phase of implementation—a process in which early conditions and initial changes set off a chain of adaptations among an organization's members, which create new conditions requiring further adaptations, and so on. We noted that when the Stormy Heights staff was faced with the responsibility for implementing an innovative program, the staff tended to define the proposed change in terms of known patterns of behavior consistent with pre-existing norms values and working patterns. Such adaptations were facilitated by the abstractness of the formal funding proposal, which allowed for multiple interpre-

tations of means a·.d goals. Nevertheless, changes there were, and they constituted a set of conditions disrupting organizational stability. The initial changes created new roles, patterns of interaction, and authority relations, many of them unanticipated in their implications and some of them posing vexing problems for the staff. They required adaptive responses.

The implementation process in Stormy Heights soon became trapped in a vicious circle in which the pursuit of certain goals prevented the attainment of other proposed objectives and in which negative reactions arose among teachers towards those who were perceived as responsible for their plight. Criticism from the outside only heightened the stress under which the staff was already performing. Even by mid-year, teacher resentment was so strong that joint planning, even if the staff's time bind had allowed it, would have been difficult, if not impossible to conduct. The school year ended on this note.

Robert B. Everhart

Role Processes in Teaching Teams

The Work Role of The Paraprofessional

What is the role of any one job in an individual's work career? What relationship exists between that job as perceived by the individual and by the organization within which he works? These two general questions provided the focus around which I examined the career of 43 paraprofessionals in four different school settings (Everhart, 1972). The schools were involved in the implementation of differentiated staffing (DS) programs. These programs entailed a differentiated set of positions, specified by job descriptions and accompanied by salary differentials according to the level of skill, training and responsibility involved. The programs included a rather extensive use of paraprofessionals, seen as an integral part of the differentiated staffing program.

This particular chapter focuses upon one aspect of the paraprofessional's career—his work role. More specifically, we will show how such work roles were determined as well as the impetus which the paraprofessional's career played in that determination, paying particular attention

to the factors which permitted career concerns to enter into the role processes.

After briefly considering the organizations within which these paraprofessionals worked, we will describe the paraprofessionals through the notion of "career types." This will be followed by a discussion of the work role itself in terms of preferred and observed role. We will then consider the evolution of the paraprofessional's work role as well as some determinants of that role.

A View of the Four Schools

The selection of the four schools to be included in the study of the paraprofessionals' careers was determined by the larger project of which this study was a part (Charters, Introduction). Three of the schools (an elementary, intermediate and senior high) were located in a large district near a major metropolitan area. The fourth (an elementary school) was located in a middle-class residential area in a city of about 100,000.

All of these schools were involved in the implementation of differentiated staffing programs. The high school had begun some preliminary work on the patterns of the proposed change as early as the 1969-70 school year. The other two schools in the same district had become involved in the differentiated staffing project early in 1970, and began the 1970-71 school year under the auspices of the differentiated staffing project, funded in part by the U.S. Office of Education.

The fourth school was involved in differentiated staffing primarily because it was part of another project, the Arts Centered School. The nature of this project was to differentiate the functions of the staff so that "the arts" (art, music, dance, drama) could be made an integral part of the curriculum. While this school had the longest physical history of any of the schools (about ten years), it was in the first year of the Arts Project when the CASEA study was initiated.*

* A word about method is in order. I myself conducted a field study at one of the schools, and held interviews with paraprofessionals at all schools. I personally did little observational work at the other three schools, but relied upon my colleagues at those schools to provide me with relevant data. For a full description of methodological issues, see Everhart (1972); see also Jones (1972), and Wacaster and Reynolds (both forthcoming).

While the numbers of paraprofessionals at the schools varied from three to eighteen, the same two-fold rationale for hiring paraprofessionals existed in all schools. One reason for their presence was to relieve teachers of non-instructional duties so that they could spend more time on "professional duties." A second rationale focused upon the introduction of paraprofessionals to teaching. School officials hoped that some, on the basis of the work experience, would decide to enter the profession on a permanent basis. This function of the DS program, then, was to form a "career ladder" wherein individuals could enter the teaching profession as paraprofessionals and work up as far as they desired.

The Career Types

Prior to their entrance into the job, paraprofessionals had diverse histories. A variety of past jobs were evidenced including housewife, student, secretary, custodian, paraprofessional and liquor salesman. Ages of the paraprofessionals ranged from the low 20's to the low 50's. All had completed high school, and some had graduate degrees. Some had worked previously in schools, others were in a public school for the first time since they had graduated from high school .This history of offices and statuses may be thought of as the individual's objective career.

Paraprofessionals also varied in their perceptions of that career history, particularly as it related to their decision to accept paraprofessional positions in the first place. Not all viewed their pasts equally, and some even had different perceptions of similar experiences. The progression of the individual's past and how it led to taking a paraprofessional position was thus perceived within different frames of reference by many paraprofessionals. We can term this more personal or phenomenological aspect of the individual's career his subjective career.

An individual's objective career and subjective career* are not mutually exclusive, for there is a constant interaction between them. Experiences within positions influence identities which in turn affect the movement into new statuses and to roles which are acted out or cre-

* The terms objective and subjective career were first used by Hughes (1958, p. 63).

ated within them. Such an interaction has implications for the positions in which the person perceives himself in the future. It is this interaction of the paraprofessional's objective and subjective careers as they have implications for his career in the future which produces what may be termed a "career type" (Friedman, 1967, p. 233). An examination of the paraprofessional's career in the four schools allowed for the construction of three career types: *Homemakers, Seekers* and *Thwarted Teachers*.

Homemakers

Homemakers (of which there were 20) were married women, mostly in their 30's, fairly well-educated and with children at home. While most had experienced a variety of occupational roles in the past, marriage and children had a significant impact on their occupational careers. Some began work after their last children reached school age, but most had not worked since the birth of their first child. For a large number then, this job represented their first since they had begun their families.

All Homemakers had graduated from high school, and the vast majority had at least some education beyond high school. The largest number (about half of the career type) had not attained a degree from a four-year college, but some had attended and graduated from community colleges. Seven of the Homemakers had received Bachelor's degrees, four had received teaching certificates and three of these had actually taught.

Homemakers did not visualize the job as leading to any other future position. Instead, most perceived the job (or one with similar working conditions) as the termination of their occupational careers. Generally speaking, the reasons for this can be traced to the Homemaker's perceived importance of her role in the homes, as the following comments illustrate:

> I have a husband and hope to keep him, and I'm not out to make a career for myself. If I ever have to work, I will probably go back into elementary education, but that certainly is not in my mind right now.

Another said:

> I see myself in this position for as long as my children are in school. Even if the position becomes full-time, it would not involve fitting in lessons and I think as my children got older I could fit in more full-time work. You see, up until now I have been part-time and this is one thing which really attracted me to this position. . . . So I really see myself in this position at least until my children get out of school. Some people can manage their homes well and some can't, and I just don't want to let my housework go down the drain.

Still another Homemaker reflected:

> I am not projecting myself too many years ahead. I'm just taking a few years at a time, because my first real obligation is, of course, to my family and my home. This is something which I want to do, and I think it is good for my morale. I think it is good for my whole family, because I am not sacrificing them for the job.

As these statements suggest, the job offered Homemakers advantages which were largely extrinsic to the job itself. Simultaneous vacation periods with children, hours which coincided with children's school hours, and the location of the job near place of residence were all important benefits of the job. While the job was "exciting" to many, the larger reward structure of the Homemaker lay not in work but in the home. Consequently, the job came to be defined in terms of that reward structure, and they could thus anticipate remaining in the job indefinitely.

Seekers

The second most numerous group of paraprofessionals was Seekers. The 13 Seekers differed from Homemakers on a number of crucial elements. First, they were generally younger than Homemakers, the majority of Seekers being less than 30. Being younger also had a bearing on the Seekers' families, as about one-third of them had no children. Five of the Seekers were men and, with one exception, all were still attending college or directly out of college.

Many Seekers had previous contact with education in one form or another. Some once had been certified teachers, others had substituted and still others had occupied part-time positions as teacher aides.

Seekers had more formal education than did Homemakers. Almost two-thirds of the Seekers had a college degree, and some had some graduate training as well. Of the five people who had not received a college degree, four were currently working on degrees which could lead to teaching positions in the public schools.

While Homemakers defined the paraprofessional position in terms of its "fit" with their family responsibilities, Seekers took the position because of a future but somewhat undefined interest in a work career. Some were interested in the possibility of gradually returning to the work world. While most had families, these women did not perceive their role in the home with the same intensity as did Homemakers. Many had once worked in education and had always had interests in a possible career in the field, and they saw the job as a means by which they could evaluate those past experiences within the context of their present circumstances. One Seeker reflected: "Prior to this, I had never worked and I had always thought that I would go back to school sometime. I always knew I would go into teaching. So it wasn't any new thing or new idea, it was just that I had postponed it for a number of years until the children were old enough. The oldest one graduates from high school this year and the youngest is in the fifth grade."

Also included in the Seeker group were those who really did not know much about teaching but took the job in order to explore the field. Many of these people were still attending college and had thought periodically about going into teaching at some later point in time. For these Seekers, the paraprofessional position offered an opportunity to explore the day-to-day workings of schools before investing time and money in teacher training courses. One person had been working on his Master's degree in a related field, and had held a custodian's job while attending school. Reconstructing his reasons for taking the position, he said, "I felt that this job would fit in better with my overall occupational goals than did sweeping floors. . . . Besides, I have had an interest for quite a while now in public education, and I thought that this job would be a good way of examining those interests."

Finally, there were some Seekers who were not at all sure what the job meant to them. Some had interests in education, but were still investigating other areas and were vacillating as to which route to

choose. All of these Seekers were young, without family responsibilities, and were in the process of casting about for some kind of meaningful niche in life. The paraprofessional position provided a temporary respite while they took stock of themselves and where they wanted to be. One Seeker commented, " I want to do something which is relevant and worthwhile, so I will have to wait until I find it. Besides that, it is kind of hard to make plans for the future because your life like happens and I hate to direct it when I feel that I might miss something."

In summary, some Seekers took the position to determine whether or not to *return* to an educational career, others took it in order to decide whether or not to *enter* an educational career. All Seekers shared the characteristic of accepting the position as it might serve some future occupational goal. The clarity of that goal was, at least at the time they took the position, substantively indefinite, as was their tenure in position.

Thwarted Teachers

The career type with the fewest number of individuals (eight) was the Thwarted Teachers. These people were all certified teachers who had taken jobs as paraprofessionals due to their inability to locate regular teaching positions after their graduation from college. These paraprofessionals were victims of the sudden teacher surplus which occurred in the late 60s and early 70s after years of teacher shortages.

With one exception, the people in this career type were all under 25, and all had come to the job directly after having received their degree and teaching certificate. Six of the eight were married, but only one had children. All but one were female.

The relationship between career and paraprofessional positions was different for Thwarted Teachers than for those of the other career types. Thwarted Teachers did not envision the position either as the end of their work career or as a means of exploring career alternatives. Rather, they perceived some definite benefits to be derived from this form of downward mobility. Generally, the benefits centered around using the position to make themselves visible to as many professional school personnel as possible. Becoming visible consisted of proving that one had the competencies to do what one had been trained to do, *i.e.*,

teach. Through such actions, Thwarted Teachers hoped to gain prominent places in the minds of principals and other personnel who made recommendations on staff, and thus to have an inside track to any vacancies that should arise in the future.

Taking the job was then a strategic move for the Thwarted Teachers, and most saw it as such. As one Thwarted Teacher put it:

> I looked at it [the job] as a stepping stone to what I really wanted to do. It was a way of getting to what I really wanted. I think that anyone who took this job other than for just something to do or if you were semi-retired could look at it as a means to some end. . . . You could be seeing what you would be doing, and it would also give you an "in" with the district. That's the thing nowadays, it's not what you know, it's who you know and the "in" that you can get. Those are the hard facts.

Thwarted Teachers then were the only career type with definite occupational goals which they saw as attainable within a limited time. They had accepted the job in order to obtain an inside track to a regular teaching position, and they counted on those positions opening up by the end of the year. Unlike Homemakers and Seekers, Thwarted Teachers saw themselves in the paraprofessional position for a definite and specified period of time, and the shorter the better.

Generally speaking then, a career type is distinguishable by the nature of one's occupational outlook at the time he took the paraprofessional position. Type depends first on whether or not the person plans a full-fledged occupational career in the ensuing years, and second, given such an intent, it's certainly with regard to specific occupations. This classification of the paraprofessionals in terms of career types is summarized in the following table:

Occupational Outlook By Career Type

Occupational Outlook	*Career Type*
No career intention	Homemaker
Career intention, but committed to no specific occupation	Seeker
Career intention, committed to teaching	Thwarted Teacher

2

The Work Role of the Paraprofessional

Preferred Work Role

We have just noted that paraprofessionals had three fairly distinct reasons for becoming interested in the paraprofessional position. These occupational outlooks appear to have implications for the type of work which paraprofessionals might perform. We might expect, for example, a Homemaker with no career interests to desire a different type of task than that preferred by a Thwarted Teacher with very definite career interests. In the study, we did find that paraprofessionals were quite explicit about the type of work which they preferred as well as that which they wished to avoid.

It is worthwhile to digress momentarily and place these preferred tasks into some sort of perspective. One important dimension on which the tasks may be ordered is the degree to which they are presumed to require the judgment or discretion of professionally trained teachers. While there may be considerable disagreement among educators about the classroom-related activities which may be appropriate for paraprofessionals or other non-professionals to perform (and while there is no definite evidence on the extent to which a given task requires professional judgment), the dimension presented herein appears relatively unequivocal in its general orientation.

At one extreme are the housekeeping chores and routine functions of a low-instructional nature. These shade into such quasi-instructional duties as grading papers, scoring tests, maintaining pupil decorum, *etc.* It is these "low-instructional" tasks from which the paraprofessional is expected to relieve the certified teacher. At the other extreme of the continuum are activities which epitomize the full exercise of professional discretion: independent responsibility for planning, teaching, and evaluating one or more classes of students. These tasks are generally regarded the province of certified teachers and are termed "high instructional" tasks. Between the extremes, classroom-related activities can be arrayed in an approximate manner according to the degree of professional discretion which they require. These tasks have been termed "medium-instructional" tasks. This range of tasks which a paraprofessional might perform constitutes the basis of the "Instructional Continuum," which

(with illustrative tasks) is presented in the figure on the following page.

Returning now to the discussion of work roles and career types, let us look first at Homemakers. Homemakers had become interested in paraprofessional positions because they fit the rather limited criteria they had established for employment. They preferred flexible hours, wished to work less than eight hours a day, and did not want to become involved in tasks which might extend beyond the normal work day. Thus, while they were interested in the involving aspects of the job (working with children, participation in meaningful tasks), the conditions of work were of greater importance to them. Given this understanding of the Homemaker's design on the job, we would expect them to prefer low-instructional activities (those grouped to the left of the instructional continuum), or at most those medium-instructional activities listed in the figure which would require little or none of their time beyond the normal working day.

Seekers had become paraprofessionals because of an interest in continuing in some unspecified work career. Public education existed as one of those possible careers. No matter what the degree of interest, exploration of a teaching career meant testing the *teaching* situation and not simply observing it as one might do if he spent most of his time in low-instructional tasks. One would then expect the preferred role of Seekers to be fairly widely distributed on the instructional continuum, but to be concentrated rather substantially on the right of the figure, where instructional activities requiring some independence on the part of the Seeker were located.

Thwarted Teachers had determined that taking a job as a paraprofessional was one way (and perhaps the only way) by which they could obtain a regular teaching position next year. Since they were interested only in certified teaching positions, their career interests would not be served if they performed routine, non-instructional tasks. As many Thwarted Teachers indicated, and as one might expect, activity preferences focused on those tasks located at the far right of the figure. The less their activities crept into the left of the continuum, the more advantageous it would be for the Thwarted Teacher's future career.

The Instructional Continuum

Low Instructional
Medium Instructional
High Instructional
Record keeping, duplicating materials
Monitoring student behavior in hallways, lunchrooms, etc.
Correcting written work
Giving individual help to students
Working with small groups on projects
Directing discussion session, class recitation
Preparing and presenting lesson to class
Continuous responsibility for teaching sub-group of class
Plan course units, teach class with teacher
Complete responsibility for one or more classes

Observed Work Role

We want to now examine the extent to which the paraprofessionals were able to realize their work role preferences. Through extensive observations and interviews, I was able to determine the modal level of task performance which had occurred by the middle of the school year.

The only paraprofessionals who concentrated their activities exclusively in the low-instructional domain were Homemakers. Some did little more than perform typing, duplicating and filing activities. There were, however, a substantial number of Homemakers who were involved in medium-instructional activities such as the supervision of reading groups or daily drill with small groups. Most of these medium-instructional tasks were not particularly demanding or burdensome, and few Homemakers found that they competed to any significant degree with their role as a housewife.

It is of particular interest to examine the work role of three Homemakers who were performing tasks further to the right of the continuum than one might expect. Homemakers performing such tasks had knowledge and experience in the area in which they were teaching, and one of the Homemakers had previously been certified. Due to certain manpower problems in the school, these Homemakers had been asked to assume such instructional duties as being responsible for a given number of classes for an extended period of time. Two of the Homemakers agreed to take over these classes, but only after some adjustments were made in their working conditions. Since teaching such classes required them to prepare lessons, they desired to work only half days so that work would not intrude into their family life. The schools involved readily agreed to such an arrangement. The third Homemaker had not requested such an adjustment, and was spending six hours a day in the school in addition to preparation work at home. By the middle of the year, she was sorry she had agreed to this arrangement, as she was "putting in too much time into the job at the expense of my family."

Seekers spent relatively little of their time in exclusively low-instructional tasks. Rather, there was quite a degree of similarity between their preferences and the role which they were performing. While the range

of role performance was greater for Seekers than for any other career type, the compatibility between where they were on that range and where they preferred to be was usually quite close. For example, the younger male Seekers directly graduated or soon-to-be-graduated from college were most heavily involved in medium- to high-instructional activities. Most were gravitating toward teaching careers, and they realized that the job provided them with an opportunity to experiment before making definite decisions. Other Seekers who had once been close to education in one way or another were now re-examining the field. Because they now had family responsibilities, they were more interested in medium-instructional tasks, and by and large were able to realize them.

About half of the Thwarted Teachers were involved in high-instructional tasks which afforded them quite a bit of flexibility and autonomy. One Thwarted Teacher had full responsibility for classroom instruction virtually every period of the day. In at least two of the schools, Thwarted Teachers were actively involved in planning lessons, teaching large class units for extended periods of time and making decisions as to materials and procedures. In this sense, there was little difference between what these paraprofessionals did and what a regular teacher would do.

The remaining Thwarted Teachers were performing tasks of a lower instructional level. These paraprofessionals were more involved in tasks at the low-medium instructional level than were the other paraprofessionals. None of these paraprofessionals were satisfied with this arrangement since they saw the work as that (as one put it) of "a high-priced secretary." At $2.50 an hour, they weren't very high-priced. Consequently, these Thwarted Teachers were consistently attempting to gain more visibility through jurisdiction over tasks much more commensurate with their designs on the job.

Working Out the Work Role

For the vast majority of Homemakers and Seekers, and for half of the Thwarted Teachers, there was a high degree of similarity between role preference and role performance. In order to fully understand how so many paraprofessionals became engaged in roles compatible with

career interests, we must first understand the initial expectations of paraprofessionals by the school staff.

By and large, role expectations for paraprofessionals were minimal and very broadly conceived. Since paraprofessionals were being used on a massive basis for the first time in all of the schools, there was little institutional history to help define their usage. Furthermore, the formalized specifications concerning what the paraprofessionals were to do permitted a great deal of interpretation. The following statements are representative of the job descriptions for the four schools which indicated paraprofessionals were to:

(1) assist teachers in the creation of learning packages or programs.
(2) work in the instructional environment under the direction of the certified staff.
(3) implement instructional designs proposed by the certified staff members.

While these statements reflect the statements drawn up by three of the schools, one school had no formalized job descriptions for paraprofessionals whatsoever.

The year then began with some degree of uncertainty about what the paraprofessionals were to do. In virtually all cases, the paraprofessionals felt that little if any information pertaining to their duties was provided them. While the topic was discussed, the discussion was typically unspecific, as the following statements indicate:

> I asked him what our role would be and he said that he really didn't know and couldn't tell me. He said that it was a new program and that we would be under somebody's jurisdiction. I remember that at the time I talked to him, there was no written specification as to what we were supposed to do.
>
> It was really rough, very sketchily drawn out what they wanted me to do. The job turned out to be much larger than that which they had in mind because they had never worked with this schedule. Also, they were not sure how much time I could devote to it. So it was a real rough sketch, and we figured that we would probably be developing it as we went along.

As we can then see, the role skeleton which described the paraprofessional's expected activities had little flesh on it. About the only stipula-

tion was that the paraprofessional somehow "assist" the teacher, therein being implicit assumptions regarding a hierarchical relationship. Once the school year began, there did appear to exist a high degree of discretion space within which the teacher and the paraprofessional could operate.

Such a discretion space would conceivably allow for a wide variety of behaviors. Paraprofessionals could have performed all low-instructional tasks, all high-instructional tasks, or any random combination of tasks in between. But, as we have already seen, such was not the case, for some pattern of task performance did exist. What seems to have had an important influence upon role performance was the career type of the paraprofessional. The manner in which such was operative is best understood by next examining the role of the paraprofessional in the ongoing instructional environment.

At two elementary schools where over 75 per cent of paraprofessionals were located, teachers relied quite heavily upon the paraprofessionals to perform many of the instructional functions within the classroom setting. This was partly due to the school's use of the funds to hire large numbers of paraprofessionals as opposed to certified teachers. While this did give them more bodies for the buck, it also led to the number of instructional sections being reduced and a subsequent increase in class size. Almost all teachers had a paraprofessional assigned to them, and since teachers had so many more students with which to contend, they often tended to place pressure on the paraprofessionals to take over as many professional duties as they would accept. Consequently, the structure of work and the division of labor within the operating setting appeared to influence more involvement by paraprofessionals in at least two of the schools.*

In many respects then, teachers became structurally dependent upon paraprofessionals to perform many classroom activities. This dependency existed because many of the important daily activities could never be accomplished without the aid of the paraprofessional. Classes were

* Other studies have pointed out that teachers have a fear that paraprofessionals might "take over" many of the tasks which were professional in nature. While such did in fact occur in these four schools, it is interesting to note that many teachers encouraged such an expansion of the paraprofessionals' role, see Bowman and Klopf (1967), p. 7.

often divided into sections with both the teacher and the paraprofessional working with a given section. At one of these schools situations existed wherein entire classes in areas such as physical education and art and crafts had been scheduled a year in advance, and because of the reduction in classroom teachers, none were available to teach the sections. Thus, the help of paraprofessionals had to be enlisted.

Even in those cases where paraprofessionals merely performed routine chores, a dependency relationship existed. I witnessed many cases where even though paraprofessionals were involved in low-level instructional tasks, the teachers preferred that paraprofessionals do more. Teachers counted heavily upon the paraprofessionals to grade papers, file, duplicate material, supervise small groups, and the like. The teachers didn't want to return to performing this type of work, so if the paraprofessionals felt more comfortable in this role than in preparing instructional materials, then so be it! Here and in the other dependency relationships, paraprofessionals were provided a power base within which they were able to negotiate the work role most favorable to their career aspirations.

The dependency of the teacher on the paraprofessional had a substantial effect in not only the *establishment* of a role parameter, but in subsequent *adjustments* to that role. A significant tool used in such an adjustment process was the information gained by paraprofessionals while working with groups of students. Because teachers often did not have detailed information about some of the students with whom the paraprofessional was working, they had to rely on the paraprofessional for information on their progress, significant problems which students might have, special student interests, and so forth. Possession of such information allowed the paraprofessional to adjust or modify his work role according to his career interests. For example, Homemakers quite often recommended that the teacher work with those students who were too demanding for the paraprofessional, such as those students who had progressed beyond the point where the Homemaker could just listen to them read or supervise their activities. If students were into work which required some outside preparation by the Homemaker, she usually requested that the teacher take responsibility for these children.

Given the same type of students, Thwarted Teachers and some Seekers often requested that they keep such students, or get more of them. They often told classroom teachers that they were progressing along well with such students, that the students were progressing well with them, or that some of the new ideas which they had tried had worked well. On some occasions, members of these career types were noted telling teachers that the students themselves had requested to work with a particular paraprofessional. To a Seeker wanting to try out teaching, or a Thwarted Teacher attempting to prove his ability, access to such information on students and the dependency of teachers on them were all-important elements of role formation. We can thus see how the paraprofessionals were able to utilize the power they had as a result of some minimal dependency upon them by professional personnel.

Some Organizational Determinants

It would be an oversimplification to assume that all of the variation in role performance of paraprofessionals was attributable to career type. While elements of career type did seem to play a very significant role, one cannot overlook some of the structural features of the schools which may have accounted for work role. We now will examine briefly some of those characteristics.

First, we should note that the level of involvement of paraprofessionals in instructional activities was generally lower in elementary schools than in either the intermediate or senior high schools. This itself might account for the relatively low-level of task performance at two of the elementary schools, although there were paraprofessionals of the same career type at another school who were more heavily involved in instructional activities. It does seem, however, that the curriculum at elementary schools is such that more low- and middle-range instructional tasks (such as playground and lunchroom supervision, listening to children read and recite, desk-to-desk help, and the like) are required of paraprofessionals than are required at the more subject-oriented secondary schools.

Another structural feature affecting role performance was the instructional technology of the classroom *i.e.* the manner in which cur-

ricular events were organized and presented. Material presented through workbooks, where the student proceeds at his own pace, as opposed to material presented through lecture or discussion in small groups, has different implications for the role performance of both the teacher and the paraprofessional as they proceed through a unit. The latter requires that considerably more continuous direction (and thus possible formal presentation) be provided by the seminar leader. Thus, role performance of paraprofessionals in ISCS Science sometimes differed from that in Language Arts, career type held constant.

A third factor which appeared to have some influence on role performance was the division of labor in the instructional unit to which the paraprofessional was assigned. Although there was not a sufficient number of cases to allow for a meaningful comparison, it did appear that where paraprofessionals were assigned to operating teams as opposed to individual teachers, task behavior was of a different nature. The Thwarted Teachers who were assigned to operating teams displayed a relatively low level of involvement in high-instructional activities which may have been due to the number of people who had a claim on their services. It is possible that the ability of the paraprofessional to be an important influence in the definition of his own role and the dependency of the teacher on him grew out of the closed environment of a relatively self-contained instructional unit. The division of labor in the instructional team was much more complex, and the teachers appeared to rely more heavily upon other members of the team as well as the paraprofessional. Thus, the complexity of the division of labor in the operational team may have dispersed the power base of the paraprofessional, and provided less frequent an opportunity to work out arrangements more conducive to his career type.

We should also mention a few items attributable to "organizational climate." All schools were heavily involved in a series of Interpersonal Relations (IPR) workshops, the purpose of which was to facilitate "communications skills," reduce status barriers, and generally to facilitate power equalization among members. There is some indication that one of the outcomes of these workshops was to reinforce, if not to produce, a norm of equality whereby all members of the organization were deemed to be on equal footing insofar as the right to govern their

own work was concerned. These workshops then may have induced the teaching staff to allow the paraprofessionals considerable flexibility to determine their own work role.*

The Nature of Roles in Instructional Change

This chapter has dealt with the work role of the paraprofessional and how it was determined. A rather strong positive relationship between the paraprofessional's career aspirations and role performance was found, and we concluded that the paraprofessional himself was an influential factor in the manner in which his work role developed.

We were particularly interested in the *processes* by which those jobs came to be. We found that the paraprofessional's role came to be defined via a bargaining or negotiation process which went on between the paraprofessionals and professional personnel. The negotiation process *qua* process was rather similar in all instances, but the issues discussed, debated, and decided were not; we thus saw three somewhat distinct patterns of role performance somewhat similar to the preferred role of the three career types. Thus, the impetus of the negotiation process, while often appearing rather haphazard, was actually patterned around the career considerations of the paraprofessionals. Other factors, more organizational in nature, also appear to have influenced the negotiation process in that they established certain parameters within which that negotiation took place.

Such findings, limited as they are, should alert us to a number of interdependent but perhaps analytically distinct issues. First, it appears we should pay closer attention to that which people in schools actually do, rather than what we thing they do or what they are supposed to do. As we noted, "paraprofessionals" performed a wide array of tasks, many which teachers might normally perform. Examining what the paraprofessional actually did and trying to ascertain why they were so engaged allowed us to see that his role was more the creation wrought by him and other organizational members than it was a pre-defined slot into which he was dropped.

* The relationship between organizational development (OD) practices and implementation of innovations is examined in C. Thompson Wacaster, forthcoming.

Related to this, the study speaks to some of the major re-alterations in school organization now occurring or on the horizon. There is a growing movement away from the "egg-crate" or self-contained classroom and toward the open-space school. This is usually accompanied by some form of team teaching. One significant product of such a change is the increased interaction which may occur among staff members when work is the province of many rather than one. Given this situation, and the notoriously difficult task of defining what we are about in education, it would seem that roles and role behavior will be increasingly derived from the interaction of unit members through time, and possibly somewhat irrespective of alleged status differences.

The study of paraprofessionals also addresses the larger topic of instructional innovation and organized change. As implied in other chapters in this volume, the innovation programs in our school did not just happen, rather they were defined, created, re-defined and re-created. Accordingly, the roles of organizational members were similarly invented, expanded, and altered. Both researchers and policy makers may wish to pay particular attention to those factors which influence the evolution and development of roles in organizational settings. It may be well that these factors will tell us much about "planned" organizational change.

John S. Packard

Changing to a Multiunit School

In reporting findings from CASEA case studies of the efforts of four schools to implement differentiated staffing, Charters and Pellegrin (1972) provide both fresh insight into the implementation process and tacit reaffirmation for other less novel, more broadly shared conceptions of innovation in schools. With regard to the latter, by implication, two impending axioms are once again brought into light: the probability of nonfulfillment is great, and knowledge of how to implement, if it exists, is a well-guarded secret. Sustenance for these conclusions is drawn from two major findings: Charters and Pellegrin report that all four schools fell considerably short of their own project goals and they provide 12 generic implementation problem themes or barriers to explain why.*

* Implementation barriers include unclear goals, assumptions that appropriate behavioral changes will follow structural changes, statements of values and project objectives, unrealistic time perspective, untrained staff, role overload, lack of resources, lack of evaluation technology and the ideology of teaching self-governance, see Charters and Pellegrin (1972).

The Charters-Pellegrin report of implementation labors and underlying problems will certainly aid further explorations of this little-known period in the life of an educational innovation. Yet their findings with regard to barriers are not surprising. Similar observations have been recorded in other implementation studies (Gross, Giacquinta and Bernstein, 1971; Smith and Keith, 1971); they match what logically follows from the knowledge concerning schools as an organizational type (Bidwell, 1965; Carlson, 1964), and reflect properties of the traditional school work culture (Pellegrin, forthcoming; Willower, 1970). That is, rather than being characteristic of just the implementation period, implementation barriers, as reported by Charters and Pellegrin, seem more like pervasive institutional features which become quite visible in times of stress.

That problems encountered in the implementation period might be thought of as steadfast barriers may be misleading. As noted, such properties seem to characterize most public schools, not just those which adopt differentiated staffing. Furthermore, implementation may be successful elsewhere in spite of these problems. Finally, because schools studied by the Charters-Pellegrin research team had not resolved their problems and either abandoned the project officially or had made little progress by the time the investigation had ended, the inability to overcome persistent problems may be the primary barrier and not the problems or their sources. More practically, due to the performance of these schools, factors which might facilitate the implementation of differentiated staffing could not be uncovered.

In response to these subsequent considerations, a more modest study was devised by CASEA staff members to begin to answer two pressing questions: "What were the problems of schools during the period in which they had implemented a collaborative staffing model? How were these problems solved?" The line of reasoning underlying these dual, guiding questions reflects the continued search for facilitators in the implementation process. If most schools experience similar difficulties while attempting to implement one or another model of collaborative staffing, then that which distinguishes relatively complete implementation may be that some significant number of key problems have been solved. The search for facilitators focused on the identifi-

cation of problems and their resolution in schools where staff reorganization had taken place.

Investigators conducted week-long retrospective case studies in four elementary schools which had made considerable progress in implementing a collaborative staffing model, the Multiunit School.* This paper reports the major findings of the four case studies by grouping observations in categories of central organizational changes conceivably implicated in the changeover to a collaborative teaching model. The delineation of implementation problems encountered by these schools occupies the major share of this paper. Unfortunately, and for reasons to be discussed later, resolutions to specific problems are altogether absent here.**

Methodology

Multiunit (MU) Schools are a fact of life in certain parts of the country, especially in Wisconsin as a result of the efforts of the R & D Center in Madison (Education, U.S.A., 1972; Multiunit Newsletter, 1972). Through various procedures (Charters, Introduction; Carlson, forthcoming), four Multiunit Schools in Wisconsin were chosen for this study on the bases that sufficient implementation progress had been made and that recollections of the implementation period were still fresh. Each of the schools agreed to permit a researcher to "live in" for one week to interview staff and other personnel and to prepare case histories of their findings.

The Problem Pattern

With regard to the implementation histories unraveled, the four schools are impressive in terms of their dissimilarities. Each exists in a

* Multiunit structural characteristics include several teaching units of usually five professionals each and 150 students. Each unit has a lead teacher and all unit leaders and the principal form a faculty council to coordinate school-wide affairs (Klausmeier, 1971).

** Members of the research team were Richard O. Carlson, Harry F. Wolcott, Robert B. Everhart and the author. This summary report is singularly the responsibility of the author. Greater detail will be provided in a final report now being prepared by Richard O. Carlson (forthcoming).

unique context and each has its own story to tell. Had there been a broader search for causes of implementation, a major conclusion might have been: there seem to be at least four different ways to install the same staffing pattern. Even this is somewhat unwarranted in that the research resulted in the identification of implementation problems and not factors contributing to success. However, judgments about important facilitating factors have been made (Cadison, forthcoming).

The variety of implementation problems recorded gives rise to a common central impression even though there are not a great many specific parallels across all four cases. Problems come in waves depending upon the stage of implementation. Certain problems appear initially, while others lay further down the road. As time passes, implementation progress increases the variety and complexity of the problems which arise. Early failure probably would mean that problems would be reduced and that life would be simpler for lack of progress.

Apart from implementation progress, problems are tied to another major factor—the fragile status of the innovation. Though new ideas and novel practices undoubtedly seem robust enough to their advocates, when placed in the public education institutional setting, they are vulnerable and extinguishable. The merest trouble or the slightest mistake may squelch them. Problems arise because new practices require constant protection.

The following analogy may reinforce these points. Consider a man trying to light a fire on a cold, bleak and windy mountain. Consider also that he is freezing, afraid of attracting wild animals and not quite sure how to build a fire. His implementation problems will be tandem. First, there is the problem of gathering kindling and then one of fashioning a gradation of fuel so that eventually large pieces will catch hold. Then comes the problem of igniting the kindling which entails waiting for the wind to die down, finding a protected spot and making fingers work. If the fire is not started, implementation problems are over.

But suppose the kindling starts up. New orders of problems are created. He must protect and nurture the flame. He must not burn himself or attract too much attention from predators to whom he previously had been invisible. He must feed the fire and catch the larger

pieces. Once underway, he must maintain a stockpile of fuel. He may even feel obliged to help others who wish to build fires of their own. Certainly they will ask for help.

Implementation Problems

The implementation activities of schools can be viewed in many ways. In this paper a nine-category classification model has been used primarily to show the relationship between implementation problems and major organizational changes implied by or observed in the transition from the conventional elementary school pattern to a collaborative teaching model. Seven rather well-known categories of the classification model denote the following organizational changes: (1) the redistribution of authority, (2) the redistribution of power, (3) division of labor, (4) teaming, (5) visibility, (6) shifts in the reward structure and (7) changes in flow of communication. Two additional categories which refer to organizational responses due in part to changes in the above areas, have been named (8) standardization and (9) incorporation.

Of the nine categories listed above, the first seven were chosen initially to serve as foci about which the many observations in all four case histories might be organized. They were flat categories in that all received equal conceptual weight before data was fitted into them. As the reader will see, each of the seven signals actual organizational changes. However, some changes did not result in implementation problems and some categories are devoid of such problems. Generally speaking, problems located in these categories were relatively minor.

The final two categories are derived from observations which did not fit into any of the seven previous (originally-selected) ones. These two, standardization and incorporation, catch the brunt of the two major problems faced by the four schools: the vastly increased work demands and task environment criticism. Standardization and incorporation also represent organizational responses to the two major implementation problems.

Redistribution of Authority

The locus of formal, binding decision making in MU schools shifts from individuals to groups, teaching units and the faculty council, and crosses traditional domains; unit leaders help make instructional as well as school-wide administrative decisions. These changes may violate the norm of autonomy-equality, severely alter the principal's conventional role and create stress between unit desires and administrative concern for school-wide coordination. However, the establishment of units, unit leaders and the faculty council did not result automatically in the above pattern.

Key differences among schools appeared to hinge on whether or not unit leaders were appointed. In the one school where unit leaders emerged following a year of experimentation, units were relatively self-reliant, conducted their internal affairs without assistance for the most part, carried out their external affairs without gaining clearance from the principal. The school abandoned the regular schedule of council meetings and replaced it with a deliberate system which handled "critical" issues raised by any staff member.

Conversely, where leaders were appointed, faculty council meetings were held on a regular basis, dealt with forgone and trivial issues, avoided or neglected troublesome topics, and were dominated by the principal who set the agenda and ran the show. Outside the council meetings, the principal was generally consulted to approve many of the activities which the units intended to perform.

This pattern affected the formal unit meetings. Self-reliant teams tended to deal with internal affairs, whereas teams with appointed leaders spent much time reviewing faculty council minutes and operated by the council's agenda. However, beyond these differences, internal decision making followed a consistent scheme across units. Joint decisions involving all members concerned orientation points, gross and general commitments (*i.e.*, to change the reading schedule or to adopt multi-aged homerooms) and were "subject to change." Operational decisions, that is, whether and how to implement orientation decisions, were usually made by sub-groups, often grade-level associates, and by individual teachers. Operational decisions were made outside the unit meetings, informally and independently. Teachers regarded imple-

mentation as more important than setting unit policy and frequently complained that unit meetings took time away from more useful work.

Most unit leaders were not objectionable to team members. Leaders played down their status by refusing released time or pay increases in some cases, and by coordinating rather than dominating unit meetings. Moreover, they often did much more work than other members. Teachers viewed the faculty council functions of the unit leader as extra duties rather than as special privileges.

Over all, there was little attempt by those occupying super-ordinate positions to impose their will on others. Although teachers continued to exercise much discretion, considerable influence was effectuated informally in interactions outside of scheduled meetings. Although principals saw their roles as changed, none reported feeling the loss of decision-making prerogatives.

After two or more years in the MU design, redistributed authority was not problematic. Only in one case, the school with "elected" unit leaders, where the self-reliance of units was most obvious, did problems emerge. Teachers in other schools in the district were openly critical.

Redistribution of Power

In conventional elementary schools independent teachers make uncoordinated demands upon organizational resources. In a collaborative arrangement permanent faculty groups may represent more powerful agents, not only with regard to making their demands felt, but also with regard to intergroup competition over limited resources and in setting school-wide priorities. However, neither the units nor the faculty councils in the case schools seemed especially alert to the influence they might muster. Resource allocation continued to follow some sort of equity logic and even minor skirmishes were not observed or recorded. Principals were neither insecure about their organizational status nor did they exhibit fear of emasculation.

While this lack of muscle flexing could be expected there are at least two areas in which increased power or control over resources was indicated. In the more definite case, units exerted considerable influence in hiring new members. While in most schools, the unit leader and the principal collaborated in the selection of a team member, in at least

one school the hiring process was carried out almost entirely by the members of the unit. As for the other, more speculative case, MU schools joined regional associations for mutual support. In one of these associations (it was reputed) bonuses for supervising student teachers were placed into a regional kitty. Otherwise, these networks had begun to function as informal job placement agencies for those experienced in the team approach. Should such trends continue, these associations may generate substantial commitments and be able to influence their members' organizations.

For the most part, it was not evident that power had become centered in newly formed groups. Nor was there much evidence to suggest that different parties sought to accrue power or thought in terms of increased organizational control. Instead, the fairness and equity educators typically espouse was practiced, at least with regard to other adults, and permeated most considerations of resource distribution and school-wide priorities.

Division of Labor

Major problems in the early stages following adoption have to do with developing the curriculum and implementing the instructional program. In the beginning both sets of tasks were faced by a scantily prepared staff at the same time students appeared. There were myriad details to work out including setting up groups of students, developing class schedules and making and carrying out teaching assignments. Instruction was expected to show manifestly greater rationality consistent with a philosophy of individualization; diagnostic tests had to be prepared, administered, scored and summarized; lessons appropriate to a variety of diagnoses had to be anticipated, readied and implemented; the effects of instruction had to be assessed and new tests delivered, scored, summarized and so on. In response to these markedly accelerated work demands, units had to hold an enormous number of meetings and divide the labor.

That new divisions of labor may be problematic in the first years of implementation seems somewhat irrelevant. Rather, dividing up the labor was a response to a great many problems. The alternative being to abandon the entire project; that teams divided the labor may be

looked upon as an indication of effort and commitment on their part. There are two ways in which labor was divided in these schools: (1) departmentalization, each person developed and presented lessons in one subject area exclusively and (2) prioritization, all members worked jointly on the development of lessons in one top-ranked subject area until it was reasonably polished. Otherwise, each teacher presented lessons in all academic areas.

While these two solutions were beneficial in that work was manageable, each led to problems. Departmentalization was boring and after two years in this mode teachers gladly became generalists once again. Departmentalization led to conflict with special teachers of art, music and physical education. Seeing their areas usurped in the units' curriculum development process, special teachers complained bitterly. This has yet to be resolved. Prioritization was a slow, tedious process where one subject area was out of line with the others. Instruction in other areas was thought to be either better or worse than in the developing one. This forced an uncomfortable reconciliation, making it difficult to actually prioritize. Work in other areas started ahead of schedule. However, prioritization avoided conflict with special teachers since these areas were ranked low.

Teachers did not specialize by student characteristics (other than by grade level), group size or instructional tasks. When or if teachers do, the problems associated with divided labor might be studied fruitfully. For the present, divided labor is best viewed as a short-term solution to manage increased work demands. Seemingly, once curriculum development is over, teachers want to perform all tasks.

Visibility

Increased opportunities for faculty members to view one another is thought to be problematic primarily because teachers may be more vulnerable to professional criticism by colleagues. Indeed, the potential risks accompanying the absence or diminution of walls upset a substantial segment or at least one school's faculty, making them reluctant to begin the teaming operation. Yet, in this regard, increased visibility had not proven to be a serious problem. The reduction of physical

barriers was in and of itself insufficient to make teachers more critical or vulnerable.

While during the first weeks of teaming, the presence of others was felt acutely, many teachers maintained that they adjusted quickly to all the new sights and sounds. This is more than a shift in perception threshold or sensory adaptation, however. Certainly routine serves to blend many distractions into background noise. Particular distractions are not as easily handled, and areas of considerable student activity, the media center, the special education class, the physical rehabilitation group and the kindergarten, were located in separate rooms or sealed off by walls of "movable" furniture. Often "ordinary" classes were arranged so that teachers faced one another while the various groups of students were back-to-back.

For a number of reasons criticism of team members, their techniques and styles occurred infrequently, if at all. Class-time observation was difficult. Since teachers were busy at the same time and separate, they did not attend to what others were doing. By the same token, teachers went to some lengths to avoid calling attention to themselves. Some teachers reported cutting out plays, singing and games. Students were rarely disciplined by shouting. One unit took pride in the notion that in their area a pin hitting the carpet could be heard. The purpose of these mufflers, teachers said, was to avoid interfering with other classes.

As a result of these adaptations, the variety of experiences teachers normally provide (in conventional classrooms) may be reduced. Some recognized this, reporting they were less likely to try "new things." An educational problem with collaboration may be the low level of peer criticism. On the other hand, this feature may enhance implementation of a collaborative design since friendship and cooperation often thrive in the absence of criticism among group members.

Teaming

Both instrumentally and practically, teaming implies getting along well enough to work together. Teachers frequently championed the quality of interpersonal relations among unit members as the key to implementation. For many, collaboration was associated with personal cost as well as with personal gain. While most units had a history free

from severe internal rupture and exhibited close interpersonal involvements and relatively intense work relations, some units suffered internal strife. When serious trouble occurred, minimal effort was given to collaboration and the units existed in name only. The quality of interpersonal relations did, in fact, seem crucial in determining whether a team established itself.

The reasons given for interpersonal problems were many. The root issue seemed to be the degree to which unit decisions bound individual members or subgroups to definite behaviors and approaches. When conflict arose, failure to reclaim the aggrieved party by expressing sympathy or argumentation evoked the time-heals-all-wounds strategy. When disharmony persisted, interest in fence mending diminished, team members drew back and team operations lagged along until the dissenting member was replaced.

In silent testimony to the growth and course of interpersonal relations among unit members were the "moving desks." In some cases upon forming new units, members located their desks in separate corners. Over time, the desks moved progressively closer together finally touching near the center of the instructional area. According to those who experienced this, the process was below consciousness; seemingly, the desks were self-propelled. When there was rancor, the desks separated, each retreating to a remote corner. When promise continued to grow, the cluster of furniture moved intact to the periphery of the instructional area.

Members of some units made a covenant to work together. Others displayed a united front on most matters. Units that ran smoothly invoked reputed expertise, experience or hard work as a means to legitimate cooperation. "Being sensitive to the feelings of others," explained one unit leader, is the way to maintain pleasant relations in the team. Operationally, this appeared to mean careful avoidance of issues or statements which would cause hard feelings.

Rewards

In collaborative arrangements elementary teachers may be expected to share equipment, materials, lessons, space and children with other unit members. In the shift from personal to group property, teachers

may lack fulfillment and lose pride in ownership of, as well as feelings of responsibility for, classroom events. In addition, teachers may find in colleagues a relatively important source of reward. Drifting away from normal to somewhat novel means of fulfillment could be resisted by teachers as well as cause for parents and others to discredit the team approach. Our observations indicate some of these predictions are well-grounded.

Many teachers in these schools said that they enjoyed relations with team members and at times displayed considerable loyalty to the unit. Since students moved among teachers for classes, the sense of owning children and the rewards from getting close to them seem diminished. Indeed, certain children went unnoticed until a colossal mistake or a parental complaint enlarged their profile. Naturally, such lapses were sources of frustration and embarassment. On the other hand, ownership of objects and areas was maintained. Within the unit's domain, space and equipment were reserved for teachers. Each operated in a fixed area with both physical and symbolic boundaries which, one noticed, other teachers usually did not cross unless children were absent. When children were present, teacher interactions took place in neutral or jointly owned areas.

Teachers collaborated in curriculum development efforts and in preparing new lessons for the unit but did not freely part with personal, independently developed lessons. To illustrate, student teachers were able to use unit materials but had to build their own lessons in areas the unit had not developed. As a token, one team gave its student teachers a portfolio of special lessons, *e.g.*, holiday activities, on the last day of student teaching.

As noted, one problem associated with the enlarged arena of rewards was losing track of children. This was often regarded as an unfortunate consequence of being too busy and out of touch with students. For some, these incidents illustrated the need to return to "the old way." For others, overlooked children were unfortunate mistakes but excusable in that "truly individualized instruction" was becoming a reality. Many teachers found work relations with colleagues to be both pleasant and beneficial—additional reasons for not abandoning the team approach.

Communication Flow

Our observations support earlier findings regarding communication patterns in Multiunit Schools (Pellegrin, 1969). Units were loci of comfortable and frequent work-related conversation; the principal talked with unit leaders more or less exclusively and thus was removed as the hub of the flow of much information. Loci of intense communication were unit planning areas, the faculty lounge, unit and faculty council meetings. Informal links tended to parallel formal communication structures vertically (teacher-unit leader, unit leader-principal) and horizontally (limited interactions between and among units, but a relatively high volume of communication among members of the same unit).

That problems were associated with these patterns was not obvious. However, considerably limited information links may result in systematic misperception (Packard and Willower, 1972) and indeed, unfounded rumors, jealousies and feelings of superiority characterized somewhat the feelings of unit members for other units. That these resulted from constrained channels of communication or only indicate a natural competitiveness between and among units could not be determined. However, competitiveness among units and systematic misperception of teachers in other units were noticed and might become foci of yet other studies. Then too, in that unit leaders are major information links, the principal and unit members risk being vulnerable to manipulation and error by being badly informed. However, we have no evidence to support this proposition. In fact, some unit leaders tended to the other extreme—perhaps distributing more information than was sought.

Standardization

As used here standardization refers to the forces and the responses to forces which resulted in all units in a school adopting the same procedural characteristics. In a school all units employed the same report cards, lunch schedule, book lists, meeting routines, class schedules and so on. Most had adopted the same curriculum development priorities and daily work models. While it may seem odd to attach significance to these facts, behind such "normal" behaviors may be

something worthy of note. For example, during site selection, we found an energetic, enterprising unit unable to publish its own newsletter to parents until all other units agreed to do so. It was also noted that while each school admitted to a wide range of instructional excellence among its units, at the same time it tolerated only limited variation in operating procedures.

Clearly, administrative problems are lessened and economics of scale are preserved when all units follow the same procedures. Naturally, the innovation embodies a new set of standard procedures which apply equally to all units. Yet there is a third pervasive, persuasive and perhaps, more basic standardizing influence, task environment criticism. Criticism comes up from under every rock, out from around every corner, and down from almost every high place. For schools, it is like a prevailing wind; though it may fluctuate, it rarely stops. For schools in transition, it can reach gale-like proportions.

Not only were criticisms expected, but some teachers feared the worst. Indeed, certain faculty members seemed to feel guilty about "changing the system" and reacted noticeably to the merest hint of public displeasure. Then too, as Hughes (1958) noted, schools and teachers adhere to safe, agreed-upon practices to avoid the charge of having made mistakes. In schools as elsewhere, service to clients is equated with following the proper procedure. For schools in transition, agreement about what are safe procedures is shaken until or unless criticism is felt and acted upon. Standardization is at least an adaptation if not a solution to, perhaps, the most severe implementation problem these schools faced fickle, unremitting, intense task environment criticisms.

Incorporation

Here we refer to the implementation stage when the school decides it has achieved its goals and cuts back on its innovative efforts. The period preceding incorporation has been called the "intensive half-life" of the innovation (Wolcott, 1973), wherein great effort, vast amounts of time and considerable money are poured into getting started. The "half-life" period also represents a level of exertion which many staff members cannot or will not sustain. Like the swimming champion who

retires at the age of 16, so these faculties seem to have become emotionally exhausted and ready for a rest.

But more than just exhaustion, there are other mechanisms which have the effect of reducing further innovative efforts. Teachers admitted to impending boredom, a feeling that all the excitement had drained away and no new worlds were left to conquer. In some schools when the powerful personalities who promoted change and expended as well as stimulated great effort, the "good" unit leaders or "super" principal, stepped down or moved on, no adequate replacements were visible. Others did promotion work for the innovation throughout the state.

> Converts are called on to join the mission rather than come fully to grips with the meaning of their decision at home (Wolcott, 1973).

Indeed, the greatest efforts of the R&D Center seem directed to the start-up phases. These schools noted that they did not get much help after the first year.

Public relations took its toll. Streams of visitors poured through the schools each year. Staff members were called in to give testimony in regional meetings. The innovation became a constant topic at monthly PTA meetings. After two years of effort, some schools seemed ready to claim complete implementation. Public relations occasions became episodes where such claims were advanced. Even in the face of criticism, the feeling of full implementation was enhanced. For example, in one PTA meeting the innovation became the fall guy in the staff's defensive reaction to parent critics. In arguing that MU was not for all students, the staff conveyed two messages: obvious blunders such as misplaced children were the fault of the new system and not the staff, and the innovation was set and could not be improved.

Otherwise, there was evidence that new unit members had difficulty in introducing changes they preferred or saw called for. Privately, some new faculty claimed their novel ideas were not welcome; that precedent, tradition and status in the unit and school had been established along with a reluctance to adopt new ideas.

In brief, after two years or so, we found a novel implementation problem, incorporation—that is ending implementation efforts too soon.

The Resolution of Implementation Problems

As mentioned, accounts of problem resolutions cannot be discussed in detail. The prime reason has to do with the lack of activity on the part of these schools which might conceivably qualify as solutions to problems. That is, there was little evidence to indicate that problems had been solved by the application of special techniques, logic, manipulation or by systematic treatment. Moreover, although most problems received some attention by schools, there was little evidence to show that many had been solved.

A convenient way to deal with a problem is to dismiss or ignore it. Personnel in these schools evoked both of these strategies frequently, especially after attempted solutions had proven fallacious. In regard to specific events related to the two major implementation problems, increased work demands and task environment criticism, a number of corrective actions with short-term pay-off were effectuated in response to almost every tiny, troublesome point in the myriad of related issues. The effects of these reactions, called here standardization and incorporation, can each be visualized in two ways: (1) as the sum of responses to an aggregated set of small changes and closely related troubles and (2) as a grand scale problem resolution to a major implementation problem. Whatever, as one served to reduce variability by normalizing procedures and the other acted to inhibit continued implementation, each also can be thought of as a major implementation problem.

Conclusions

Considering both the Charters and Pellegrin report (1972) and this paper, implementation problems appear to be related to three distinct sources: (1) the pre-existing (in)capabilities of schools, (2) the vulnerability of new ideas and novel practices in schools and (3) implementation progress. Roughly speaking, the three major implementation problems which can be identified by summing across the two papers appear to be independently linked to each source; the Charters-Pellegrin barriers to the first, task environment criticism to the second and increased work demands to the third.

Finally, if these four Multiunit Schools are dependable representatives of implementation, then the search for facilitators to the implementation of collaborative staffing models must turn to other factors than the resolution of these three major problems. Prime candidates for future research focus are factors that operate such that the failure to resolve implementation problems does not prevent implementation.

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